THE NONCONFORMISTS PLEA for PEACE: OR *An Account of their Judgment.*

In certain things in which they are misunderstood: written to *reconcile* and *pacifie* such as by mistaking them hinder Love and Concord.

Exhort. in the Liturgy before the Communion.

If any of you be —an hinderer, *or slanderer of God's Word,—or be in malice or envy,—Repent of your sins, or else come not to the holy Table, lest after the taking of that Sacrament, the Devil enter into you as he did into* Judas, *and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to destruction both of body and soul.*

By *RICHARD BAXTER.*

LONDON,

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To the Reverend

Conforming Clergy.

Reverend Fathers and Brethren,

IT is now ſeventeen years ſince neer two thouſand Miniſters of Chriſt were by Law forbidden the exerciſe of their Office, unleſs they did conform to Subſcriptions, Covenants, Declarations and Practices, which we durſt not do, becauſe we feared God: Foreſeeing what this would do to the deſtroying of Love and Concord, and of mens ſouls, weakning the Land, encouraging Popery, Hereſie and Schiſm, we did our beſt betime by Reaſon, & ſubmiſſive petitioning the Biſhops, to have prevented it; but in vain: We never made one motion for Presbytery, or againſt Liturgies, nor to abate any of the Biſhops Wealth, or Honour, nor any thing as to Church-Government, but Arch Biſhop *Uſhers* Model of the Primitive way: And we thankfully accepted of much leſs, expreſt in His Majeſties *Gracious Declaration* about

Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which, we hoped, would have ended all our diſcords. The Reaſons of the *Great Change*, and *New Impoſitions*, it is God, and not we, that muſt have an account of from the Convocation, &c. and of the conſequents. Since then, as we foreſaw, contrary intereſts have increaſed contrariety: The Laws againſt our Preaching to more than four, the Penalties of forty pound a Sermon, and long impriſonment in common Gaols, and driving us five miles from Corporations, and places where we lately preacht, and the reaſons given are not unknown to you: Many Books are written, and Sermons preached, earneſtly preſſing Magiſtrates to execute theſe Laws againſt us: And though, when demanded, we gave in a Catalogue of divers things in the old Impoſitions, which we undertook to prove to be great ſins; and in our *Petition for Peace*, proteſted that nothing but avoiding ſin ſhould hinder our Conformity, and we had never call or leave to give our reaſons againſt the New Conformity; I my ſelf have been reported to my Superiours, to be one that confeſſeth the Lawfulneſs of all, ſave the renouncing of a rebellious Covenant: And while the Law and Canons impriſon, and excommunicate us *ipſo facto*, if we do but give the *reaſons* of our Nonconformity; and I have offered to Reverend *Biſhops* and others, to beg leave to

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do it on my knees, and nothing more grieved me, than that I might not ſo endeavour to ſave men from the damning ſins of Hating, falſe accuſing, and ruining their Brethren, and ſacrilegious hindering the Preaching of Gods Word; yet have I been called on to tell them *what it is that we would have*, and told that our *Superiours judge us not ſincere*, but meer factious *Schiſmaticks*, that will neither *Conform, nor tell them why we do not*. Vehement Letters of accuſation are ſent me: Many Books charge us with heinous Schiſm, even as wilfully done againſt our conſciences: Yea that *Covetouſneſs and Pride, and not Conſcience, cauſe our Nonconformity; that we are the worſt men alive, and unfit for humane ſociety, &c.* while we are made their ſcorn, and many want bread, and many of us preach for nothing, ſave the ſpiritual benefits and rewards. And thoſe of us that have bread, know of ſo many that have families, and nothing but alms to maintain them, that we are glad to give them all that our neceſſities can ſpare: And we ſuppoſe our accuſers would not think that if they choſe beggery and ſcorn, or lived only on mens charity, it would prove them to be covetous or proud. I have read the Books of Biſhop *Morley*, Mr. *Stil-man*, Mr. *Fulwood*, Mr. *Durel*, Mr. *Fowlis*, Mr. *Falkener*, Mr. *Nanſen*, Dr. *Boreman*, Dr.

Dr. *Parker*, Dr. *Tomkins*, the *Friendly Debate*, Dr. *Aſhton*, Mr. *Hollingworth*, Dr. *Good*, Mr. *Hinkley*, the *Counterminer*, Mr. *L'Eſtrange*, Mr. *Long*, and many more. And as my fleſh is no more in love with poverty and ſcorn than yours, nor was I more uncapable of ſuch a lot as yours; ſo I here teſtifie that no man is more inexcuſable than I, that have dwelt ſo long in pain, ſo neer the grave, if I have been ſo *mad* as to ſilence my ſelf, and choſe a Gaol among malefactors (where I have lain) and bitter accuſations and proſecutions, for any thing of this world that I could hope for, or for any thing leſs than my ſalvation. And either I am an utter ſtranger to my ſelf, or elſe I was willing to know the Truth: and Liberty and Wealth is liker to be a byas, than that which the Law decreeth againſt us. But if I be ſo unhappy as to be uncapable of underſtanding the lawfulneſs of all that is made neceſſary to the Miniſtry, you ſhould better think of it before you beg the ruine of all that are as ignorant as I. Had you told *us* how to come to *your meaſure of knowledge*, we would thank you: When I askt Biſhop *Morley* ſuch a queſtion, he adviſed me to read *Bilſon* and *Hooker*, where I found more than I approved for reſiſting or reſtraining Kings: and had long before read them and *Saravia*, Biſhop *Downam*, *Spalatenſis*,

ſit, Petavius, Sancta Clara, Dr. *Hammond*, and abundance more, for Prelacy, &c. He is not worthy the name of a man that would not know that truth, which maketh both for his temporal and eternal welfare.

Under theſe accuſations my conſcience urged me to acquaint the accuſing Clergy with our Caſe, believing it be uncharitable to impute *all their falſe report to Malignity, or Diaboliſm*, but that it was *STRANGENESS to our Caſe*, while wrath and croſs intereſt kept them from hearing us: But my prudent friends perſwaded me ſilently to leave all to God, aſſuring me it would but more exaſperate, till *they called us themſelves to ſpeak*. Twice we were ſince invited to a Tryal for Concord, and both times *came to an Agreement* with the moderate and eminent Perſons that we treated with: But it was buried in privacy; and ſtill we are called on, to give the reaſons of our Diſſent.

Having long forborn for fear of offending them that require it, at laſt I have here adventured, not ſo far as to *urge the Caſe*, but only to *ſtate it*, and tell you barely what it is that I dare not do: If I find that you can bear this, if I have leave from God and man, I ſhall venture on more, and give you my reaſons: This unarmed Account is eaſily trampled on. I doubt not but it will meet

with

with ſuch uſage as I have had already: But I muſt ſay, that if ſuch as the *Counterminer* will ſay that to *fear ſuch ſin as I have here named*, by one that is not willing to be damned, is *Treaſon*, *Rebellion*, *Schiſm*, *Faction*, *Pride*, *Obſtinacy*; this will not paſs with me for convincing Argument, on which I may venture my ſalvation. *Jul. Scaliger exercit.* tells us, that in *France* our *Bicott*, the Learned Schoolman, was envied by another for his Auditors in Philoſophy, and his crafty adverſary told the King, that *Bicott* was a Peripatetick, and *Ariſtotle* was againſt Monarchy: There needed no more, and *Bicott* was caſt down.

As for them that think that to name the late Wars is a Confutation of Nonconformiſts, as if they knew not that they were raiſed on both ſides by Conformiſts (*Heylin* in *Lauds* Life will tell them who.) I now only repeat, [*Silence all that had a hand in thoſe Wars* (except the Conformiſts) *and no more, and I and thouſands will give you thanks.*] I plead not for my ſelf: The years are paſt in which I might have better ſerved the Church, had I been thought tolerable. I am almoſt uncapable now of your kindneſs, or of any great hurt that you can do me. A torrent of reproaching ſcornful words may eaſe ſome mens minds, and ſerve ſome mens ends,

but

but will not ſatisfie my conſcience, nor heal the Land. I write not this as accuſing Conformiſts, or the Law-makers, but as anſwering their loud and long accuſations and demands. If telling *what I fear*, ſeem a telling *what others are guilty of*, it is a conſequent which I cannot avoid; but to avoid it and ſuch like, have ſeventeen years been herein ſilent. So far am I from deſiring the weakening of the Church, that I had not written this, but to prevent it. Though I with Saint *Martin* renounce communion with *Ithacius* and *Idacius*, I go not ſo far as he in ſeparating from the Synods of Biſhops; nor will I ſeparate from any Chriſtians, further than they ſeparate from Chriſt, or expel me: Church-Order I love; Church-Tyranny and Schiſm I love not: I am for *more Biſhops*, and not for fewer: If *Pariſh-Oratories*, or Chapels *were made Pariſh-Churches, at leaſt in each Corporation antiently called* πόλις: Yea if the *Pariſh-Miniſters might be Paſtors, Epiſcopi gregis, and not forced by ſtrangers to excommunicate, abſolve and receive to communion againſt their knowledge and conſciences, nor to profeſs, promiſe or practice ſin againſt God, nor omit their known Miniſterial duty*, far be it from me to be againſt Conformity. I doubt not but he that will preſerve Religion here in its due advantages, muſt endeavour to pre-

ſerve

serve the Soundness, Concord and Honour of the Parish Churches. And as the truly wise and honest *Judge Hale* hath said to me, *It must be a new Act of Uniformity that must heal us, if ever we be healed.* I am of the mind of old Mr. *Dod*, *who, for the peoples sake, thanked God that there were so many worthy Conformists, and for Truth and Conscience sake, thanked God that there were so many Nonconformists.* I love and honour the Reverend, solid, worthy Preachers which I hear in most Churches in *London*, where I come; and I endeavour to have all others honour them: And though I am by the Canon *ipso facto* excommunicate, they shall put me out from them before I will depart. But for the *Church*, and *Kingdom*, and their *Consciences* sake, I beg of the Clergy, that before they any more render odious those whom they never heard, and urge Rulers to execute the *Laws* against them, that is, to confine, imprison, excommunicate, silence and undo them, they would be sure *what manner of spirit they are of*; and that this is *acceptable to God*, and *profitable to the Land*, or to *themselves*, and that which the *Churches Experience* commendeth. My honest friend, whom I once perswaded from Anabaptistry, writing against *Separation*, saith, that when he *saw here a leg, and there an arm in the way, it was time for him to stop.*

But

But in *Church-history*, I have had a sadder sight, even the carkasses of thousands, streams of blood, and tumults in the chief Cities and Churches of the world, the Crowns of Emperours & Kings, the loss of the Eastern Empire, the generation of the Papacie, the reproach of Christianity, and that by *Clergie-Domination, and Contention*, striving who should *be Greatest* and *seem wisest*. Some say, *If we take in a few moderate men like you, what the better are we?* *Ans.* More than you dream of, are far better than I: I hope few are worse; Bishop *Morley* bid *Ab uno disce omnes*: Shall *London* have no clocks unless they will all strike at once? shall none be tolerated but the *perfect*? Are you such your selves? Do you differ in nothing? how then shall we have Communion with you when we differ in all the things here described? Pardon me for saying, I think that Mr. *Tombs* hath said more like truth for Anabaptistry, the late Hungarian for Polygamy, many for drunkenness, stealing and lying, in cases of necessity, than ever I yet read for the lawfulness of all that I have here described. And what is it that some men cannot copiously and confidently talk for? And what wretched Reasons be they that have hindred *Englands* unity and peace? And how fully hath *Rom.* 14. and 15. and our Common interest and notorious experience confuted them! I

have

have long wondered what powerful cauſe it is, that with ſuch men and ſo many, could ſo long prevail againſt ſuch evidence and light. If *you will not hear, thoſe will whom God will uſe to the healing of his Churches: and bleſſed are the Peacemakers* for (though you call them otherwiſe) they *ſhall be called the Children of God.* I have prefixed the words of ſome as our admonition; and I have written with this a fuller Treatiſe of the *only true terms of the Concord of all* Chriſtian Churches, and of the falſe terms which they never will unite in, but are the cauſes of Schiſm. I commit all with my ſelf living and dying, to him that is the Lord of the dead and living, and will ſhortly judge us all in righteouſneſs. Come Lord Jeſus; and prepare us for thy Coming. *Amen.*

THE

THE CONTENTS.

1. THE *Reasons of this writing and the sense of the word* CHURCH.
2. *The various opinions of such as we have to do with.*
3. *What Churches we hold to be instituted of God and what not.*
4. *What Princes and Pastors may do in such matters.*
5. *What separation and what assembling or gathering Churches is unlawful and what lawful.*
6. *Matters of fact to be known preparatory to our case.*
7. *Matters required of us for Conformity, & first of Lay-men.*
8. *Secondly, Matters imposed on Ministers: And* I. *Of Assent, Consent, Approbation, and Canonical subscription, that nothing is contrary to the Word of God.*

II. 9. *The second Part of the Matter of Conformity; Reordination.*

III. 10. *The third Part of the Matter of Conformity; of swearing or Covenanting never to endeavour any alteration of Church Government.*

VI. 11. *The fourth part of the Matter; to declare that neither I nor any other person is obliged by the vow to endeavour any such alteration of Church Government.*

V. 12. *The fifth Part of the Matter; The Declaration and Oath (as not understood) of not resisting any Commissioned.*

VI. 13. *The sixth Part of the Matter: To cease preaching and administring Sacraments till we conform (at least not to preach to more than a family and four persons.)*

VII. 14. *The seventh Part Consequential, Not to come within five miles of any City or Corporation which sendeth Burgesses to Parliament, or of any place where we have preached to more than aforesaid since the Act of oblivion.*

15. *The Adjuncts, and the other Matters agreed on which affright the Nonconformists*

16. *The case and practice of the Ministers since they were silenced.*

Additions

Additions occasioned by Mr. *L.* Fresh Suit, and some others, about National Churches.

THE Question stated § 3. *&c. Whether we are obliged by or to the Jewish National Polity?* § 5, *&c. or by Scripture to a National limitation of them?*

Whether a National Church-form be lawful, § 30, *&c?*

Whether it be a prudential desirable form § 38, *&c?*

The resolution of this by a short history of Prelacie and Councils. § 39, *&c.*

Obj. *From the necessity of Appeals,* § 40, *&c.*

Obj. *Shall all gather Churches that will.* ib.

Obj. *The Apostles have successours.* ib.

Q. *Whether the King or who is the National Church Head* § 41. 42, *&c?*

A Christian Kingdom what § 43?

Q. *Must real holyness in the judgment of rational Charity be required in all Church members.* § 1?

Q. *What Covenanting is necessary to particular Church relation?* § 5, *&c. The spirit maketh Ministers, how?*

I. *The Epistle of an African Council* (*in* Cyprian *Ep.* 68: *p.* 200.) *to* Felix *a Presbyter and the Laity at* Legio *and* Asturica; *and to* Lælius *the Deacon and the Laity at* Emerita, *concerning their Bishops* Basilides *and* Martial, *worthy to be read as to our present controversies.*

II. *The Letter of* Rob. Grosthead, *the good Bishop of* Lincoln *to Pope* Innocent *concerning the reason of his Nonconformity, and shewing that hindring preaching is the greatest sin next Divelism and Antichristianism*: *Out of* Mat. Pari *An.* 1253. *p.* 871. 872.

III. *An extract from Bishop Saunderson* de juramento.

Sect.

SECT. I.

The Reaſons of this writing, and the ſenſe of the word [CHURCH.]

IT was the ſaying of acute and holy *Auguſtine* (though we call him not with *Fromondus Omniſcium*) [that *no man ought to be patient under an accuſation of Hereſie.*] He meaneth by *Patience*, a *ſilent neglect of his own juſt Vindication*: Not that we muſt be like Hectoring *Duellers*, that would kill or hurt others in revenge, or in a ſinful way of Vindication: But by ſilence, thoſe that ſlander men may be encouraged in their ſin to their own deſtruction, and thoſe that value the ſlandered perſons may be tempted to think too well of Hereſie for their ſakes: And the honour of God, and his Truth, and our own good names, ſo far as they are ſerviceable, are none of them to be diſregarded. We have with grieved ſouls beheld the Land of our Nativity

diſtracted by Diviſions; and much, if not moſt *about Religion*, (we wiſh it were not *againſt Religion*, by ſome that indeed *have no true Religion*:) Teachers againſt Teachers, in Diſcourſes, Sermons, Books, rendring each other deſpicable, and unlovely, and ſome calling out aloud to Rulers to draw the Sword againſt their Brethren; ſo learnedly and induſtriouſly pleading the Cauſe againſt each other with the Laity, high and low, as if the deſtroying of their Love, and kindling Wrath and Hatred, were the Evangelical neceſſary work; and without this zeal, and skill, and diligence hard to be accompliſhed. No wonder then if we have people againſt people, families divided, and all confounded; and this grievous *Schiſm* carryed on, by crying out againſt each other as Schiſmaticks, and implacably *cauſing* it while we loudly inveigh againſt it. The caſe is lamentable, that diſtraction ſhould be thus expreſſed and promoted; and when God hath warned us by the miſchiefs of an odious Civil War, and hath tryed us again with peace with all Nations about us, when moſt of them are involved in grievous Wars, that yet we will not give peace to one another, but live as if Peace were the Plague which we moſt deſire to eſcape.

Yet as it is the good providence of God, that the Names of *Wiſdom*, *Godlineſs*, *Truth*, *Juſtice*, *Mercy*, *Honeſty* and *Vertue*, are all ſtill honourable even among thoſe that hate and oppoſe them; and the *names* of *Folly*, *Ungodlineſs*, *Lying*, *Unjuſtice*, *Unmercifulneſs*, *Diſhoneſty* and *Vice*, are all diſhonourable where the *things* themſelves are followed and prevail; ſo *Love*,

Peace,

Peace and *Concord*, are names that are by moſt commended; when if moſt were for the *things* indeed, we were in a hopeful way of recovery: And *Malice*, *Schiſm* and *Diſcord*, are cryed down by thoſe, whom no intreaty will prevail with to forbear them, or to accept any remedy againſt them.

Yet we are thus far prepared for peace, that if we be not falſe Hypocrites, if we did *but know* which is the true way of *Love*, *Peace* and *Concord*, we would follow it: And if we *knew* what is Schiſm indeed, we would avoid it. And its pity that men that think themſelves wiſe ſhould yet *not know* the way of Love and Peace: Eſpecially that the Learned Preachers of the Goſpel of Love and Peace, ſhould ſtill be the incendiaries, and ſtir up the Laity that would be more peaceable, againſt each other. And that after ſo many Volumes of Hiſtory have theſe thirteen hundred years at leaſt, aſperſt the Clergy with the reproach of being the contentious troublers of the world. And yet muſt we deſpair of a cure of ſo odious a diſeaſe?

The thing that *Books*, *Sermons*, and *Diſcourſes*, *cry* out againſt thoſe called *Non Conformiſts* for, is *Humorous*, *Obſtinate Schiſm*, and *Diſobedience*, *in Preaching*, *when forbidden*, and *keeping up Aſſemblies not allowed*, and *gathering Churches out of Churches*, & *ſeparating from the Pariſh-Communion*, *and Church of England*. If we can find out the Schiſmatick, we hope he will be condemned by us all. But that the Cauſe may be heard at leaſt in ſome part, before it is judged, we that publiſh this, here give an account of our *own judgment*, and thoſe that *we are beſt acquainted with*,

how far we hold it lawful or unlawful to *gather Churches*, or to *ſeparate from Churches*, or to *differ* from what is eſtabliſhed by Authority: But the Application to our particular Caſe, and our Arguments thereabout, we muſt not here preſume to publiſh.

They that accuſe others as Schiſmaticks, and Separatiſts, for deſerting Churches, or gathering Churches out of Churches, and will not tell us what they mean by the word *Church*, nor give us leave to tell them what we mean, but judge in confuſion, and deſpiſe explication, and neceſſary diſtinction, are men that we can neither be edified by, nor edifie, in this way.

SECT. II.

The Various Opinions of ſuch us we have to do with.

Sect. I. BEcauſe men will judge of ſuch Cauſes according to their ſeveral Principles, and Preſuppoſitions, we muſt take notice of ſome of the divers Principles of thoſe whoſe cenſure we muſt expect: (Though not of inconſiderable Sects.)

Sect. II. And 1. Some ſay that *no humane Form* of Church-Government, and of Churches, as governed, is of *God's Inſtitution* (or as they ſay, *Jure Divino*,) but that it is left to humane prudence.

Sect. III. 2. Some hold only an *Univerſal Church* (governed by a *Pope*, ſay ſome of them,

or

or by a *General Council while ſitting*, and a *Pope* in the *Intervals*, ſay others, or by a *Pope* and *Council* agreeing while it ſits, and a Pope in the Intervals, ſay others) to be *Jure Divino*, and all particular Church-Forms as ſubordinate, left to the prudence of this Univerſal Governour as Supreme; as Inferiour Officers in Kingdoms are made by the King.

Sect. IV. 3. Some hold that this *Univerſal Church-Form*, and alſo *Dioceſan*, and no other, are inſtituted of God.

Sect. V. 4. Some hold that the Univerſal, Patriarchal, Metropolitical (or Provincial) Dioceſan, and Parochial, are *jure divino*, or inſtituted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

Sect. VI. 5. Some hold that only Dioceſan Churches, and Metropolitical or Provincial, are *jure divino*, and not the univerſal: And of theſe ſome take Dioceſan Churches, for thoſe only that contain many fixed Aſſemblies, and ſome for ſuch as have one Biſhop, whether over one Congregation, or over multitudes. Saith the very learned Dr. *Hamond*, in 1 Tim. 3. [*The Church of the living God, was every ſuch regular Aſſembly of Chriſtians under a Biſhop* (*ſuch as* Timothy *was*) *an* Oeconomus *ſet over them by Chriſt*: *Such again every larger circuit under the Metropolitane, who as* Timothy *had* χειροτονιαν ϗ χειροθεσιαν, *Ordination and Juriſdiction over the whole Province. And ſuch all the particular Churches of the whole world, conſidered together under the Supreme Head Chriſt Jeſus, diſpenſing them all by himſelf, and adminiſtring them ſeverally, not by any one Oeconomus, but by the ſeveral Biſhops as inferiour Heads of Unity to the ſeveral Bodies, ſo*

conſtituted by the ſeveral Apoſtles in their plantations, each of them having an Αὐτονομία, *a ſeveral diſtinct Commiſſion from Chriſt immediately and ſubordinate to none, but the ſupreme Donor or Plenipotentiary.* He here ſuppoſeth (as he elſewhere ſheweth) that *de facto, Epiſcopal Churches were in Scripture-times but ſingle Congregations*; but that after it was otherwiſe: And whether *then* the *New Form* of Congregations were *jure divino*, when they became *but Parts of a Biſhops Church*, we leave to the *Readers* conjecture; as alſo of the New Form of a Dioceſan Church.

Sect. VII. 6. Some hold that *National Churches*, that is, *Chriſtian Kingdems*, as governed by the *Soveraign, Secular Power*, are inſtituted by God, and that all Church-Forms elſe within that Kingdom, are *jure humano*, at the pleaſure of the King, ſo be it that worſhiping-Aſſemblies be kept up, and Biſhops and Prieſts placed as it ſhall pleaſe the King.

Sect. VIII. 7. Some think that Dioceſans (or Biſhops whether over one Congregation or many) are inſtituted by God (and ſome ſay alſo *Archbiſhops*;) and that theſe have power *by conſent* or *contract* among themſelves, to make Patriarchal and National Churches: And ſo that theſe *National* and *Patriarchal* Churches are *jure divino mediato*, but *jure humano immediato*, and are rather made by the *conſent of Biſhops*, than by *Kings*: And ſo under Heathen Kings the Churches may be National.

Sect. IX. 8. Some think that *Parochial Churches* (conſiſting of Chriſtians diſtinguiſhed by the *circuit of ground*) and combinations of theſe into *Synods* leſs and greater, *Claſſical, National,*

nal, are *jure divino*, and no other lawful.

Sect. X. 9. Some think that only *Parochial Churches ordinarily*, and *ſingle Congregations* of any *Neighbour Chriſtians*, when *Pariſh* Order *cannot* be obſerved, are *jure divino*.

Sect. XI. 10. And ſome think that only ſuch *ſingle Congregations* of Chriſtians, with their *Choſen Paſtors*, without any neceſſary reſpect to *Pariſh bounds*, are properly called *Churches* of *Divine Inſtitution*, though theſe Churches may and ſhould hold ſuch aſſociations, as correſpondence and mutual help require.

Sect. XII. There being ſo many ſorts of Churches in the world, (as Univerſal, National, Patriarchal, Provincial, or Metropolitical, Dioceſan, Claſſical, Parochial, Congregational) it is hard to give a juſt deciſion of the queſtion, *From which of theſe, and when it is a ſin to ſeparate*; till it be firſt known which of theſe is *Divine*, and which of *Humane Inſtitution*, and which *Humane Churches* are *neceſſary*, which *lawful*, and which *ſinful*. And it muſt be known of which the queſtion is. And while there is ſo ſignal a diverſity of Judgment, about the ſeveral Forms, the nature of *Schiſm* will be hardlier opened.

SECT. III.

What Churches we hold to be inſtituted by God, and what not.

Sect. I. OUR own Judgment we ſhall plainly expreſs in this following Order:

1. We ſhall ſhew what Church we judge to be of God's Inſtitution, and what not. 2. What about Churches the Magiſtrates or Paſtors may inſtitute by God's Authority or allowance: And what they may not inſtitute. 3. In what caſes it is lawful to gather Churches where Churches are: In what caſes it is lawful to ſeparate from Churches; and in what caſes neither of theſe laſt is lawful.

Sect. II. 1. All Chriſtians are agreed that Chriſt is the Author of the *Univerſal* Church, (conſidered both as *Baptized*, or *Externally covenanting* and *profeſſing*, called *Viſible*, and as *Regenerate* and *ſincerely Covenanting*, called *Myſtical*) as it is Headed by *Chriſt* himſelf, and called his Body, and his ſpecial Kingdom.

Sect. III. 2. We doubt not but Chriſt hath inſtituted the *Office* of the ſacred *Miniſtry*, to be under him as the *Teacher*, *Ruler*, and *High Prieſt* of the *Church*, in *Teaching*, *Guiding*, and *Worſhipping*: And that he hath inſtituted *holy Aſſemblies* and *Societies* for theſe things to be exerciſed in: And that [a *Society* of *Neighbour Chriſtians aſſociated with ſuch a Paſtor or Paſtors, for perſonal Communion herein*, even in ſuch *Doctrine*, *Diſcipline* and *Worſhip*] is a Church-Form of Divine Inſtitution.

Sect. IV. If they be not [*Chriſtians*] by Baptiſm, or viſible Profeſſion, they be not *viſible Materials* for a Church.

If they be not [*Neighbours*] that is, within reach of each other, ſo as to be *capable* of ſuch Communion, they are not *matter* that hath the neceſſary extrinſecal diſpoſition.

If they be not [*aſſociated*] explicitely or implicitely,

plicitely, by ſome ſignification of *Conſent*, they may be an accidental Aſſembly, but not a proper *Chriſtian Church*.

If they be not aſſociated [*for this holy Communion*] they may be a *Civil Society*, but not a *Church*.

If they be not aſſociated [*for Perſonal Communion*] at ſome due ſeaſons, but only for *Communion* at *diſtance* by *Delegates*, *Meſſengers* or *Letters*, they are not a *Particular Church* of this *ſpecies* now defined, though they may be members of larger aſſociations, National, Dioceſan, &c.

If they are not aſſociate with one or more *Paſtors*, they may be a *Community* of Chriſtians, but not a *Political Church*, which we now define.

If they are not joyned with a Paſtor that hath *all the foreſaid Powers*, of *Teaching*, *Ruling by the Word and Keys*, and *going before* them in *Worſhip*; and if they *conſent* not to his *relation as ſuch*, they may make a *School*, or an *Oratory*, but not a *proper particular Church ſimpliciter*, ſo called [but only a Church *ſecundum quid*, or as to *ſome part*;] for an *Eſſential* part is wanting. But it is not the defect of *Exerciſe* that unchurcheth them, while there is the *Power*, and that *conſented to* (for Men cannot be *Paſtors* or *Churches againſt their wills.*)

Sect. V. 3. As all Chriſtians grant that the *Apoſtles* had a *general* Commiſſion to *call Infidels* to Chriſt, and to *plant* Churches with their particular Paſtors as aforeſaid, and to take care that their *Paſtor and they* do the duties, (not compelling them by their *Sword*, but by the *Word*,) ſo we are far from denying that yet

ſome

ſome Miniſters of Chriſt may, and ſhould ſeek the *converſion of Infidels*, and *plant Churches* of the converted, *ordaining Paſtors* over them by *their conſent*, and taking due care by their grave adviſe that ſuch Churches walk in the obedience of Chriſt, as far as they can procure it; And ſuch *Seniors* which have *ſo planted theſe Churches and Paſtors* by Gods bleſſing on their labours, ſhould be much reverenced by the Churches which they *have planted*, and their juſt adviſe, exhortations and admonitions ſhould be heard by the *People* and the *Paſtors whom they ordained*, and all their juniors: And though the Apoſtles have no ſucceſſours in their extraordinaries, yet that ſome ſhould in this *ordinary work* ſucceed them, we deny not, becauſe 1. We find that it is a work ſtill neceſſary to be done: 2. And others as well as Apoſtles did it in thoſe times; as *Silas*, *Luke*, *Apollo*, *Timothy*, *Titus*, &c. and ſince, all ſuch as have planted the Goſpel among Infidels. 3. Becauſe Chriſt promiſed to be with them that did this work to the end of the world, *Mat.*28.21. But whether ſuch men be of a different *office* or *order* from the *junior* Paſtors; whether any true *Presbyter* that hath ability, opportunity and invitation, may not do the ſame work with Infidels; and by his ſucceſs, and ſeniority may not ſo *ordain* Paſtors over the Churches which he gathered; and have an anſwerable right to reverence and regard from thoſe that he ſo planteth, and ordaineth; are controverſies which we preſume not now to decide.

And we cannot prove that this maketh a diſtinct *form* of a Church, no not in the *Apoſtles* time and caſe: For we cannot prove that they

they diſtributed the Countrys into *Provinces* or *Dioceſes* peculiar to each Apoſtle; and had any Churches which they ſuppoſed to be peculiarly under this or that Apoſtles Government ſo as that any of the reſt might not with Apoſtolical power have come, reſided, preacht and governed in the ſame: No Scripture tells us of ſuch limits & Provinces. Nay, the Scripture tells us, that many of them were as Apoſtles at once in the ſame places: As at *Jeruſalem* oft. *Paul* and *John* had Apoſtolical power at *Epheſus*: *Peter* and *Paul* (as is commonly held) at *Rome*: And its probable that as Chriſt ſent forth his diſciples by two and two, ſo the Apoſtles went in company, as *Paul* and *Barnabas* did: ſo that ſuch *appropriate ſettlement* of *Provincial* or *Dioceſan Churches*, we cannot ſee proved; though ſuch a *Generall Miniſtry* is eaſily proved; and we doubt not but by conſent they *might* have diſtributed their Provinces, had they ſeen cauſe, and that actually they did ſo diſtribute their *labours* as their work and ends required: But if they had become proper Provincial Biſhops over ſeveral Diſtricts or Provinces, it ſeemeth ſtrange to us that no hiſtory telleth us which *were* the *twelve* or *thirteen Provinces*, and how limited; and that they continued not *longer*; and that inſtead of *three Patriarchs* firſt, and four after, and five next, we had not *twelve* or *thirteen Apoſtles* or *Patriarchs ſeated* over all the world, with their known diviſions; And that men ſeek not now to reduce the Churches to this *Primitive State*, rather than to the ſaid *Imperial Conſtitution*; and rather to ſubject us all to the *Apoſtolical Seats*, than to *five Patriarchs* in the dominions of *another*

ther Prince, and now moſtly ſubject to an Infidel. Yea it is ſtrange to us that the firſt Seat (*Rome*) ſhould derive its pretended power from two Apoſtles (as if our Church might have two Biſhops) and the ſecond (*Alexandria*) from Saint *Mark*, who was *no Apoſtle*, and the third (*Antioch*) from the *ſame Apoſtle* that *Rome* did, (as if *one Biſhop* might have *two ſuch* Dioceſes,) and the fourth (*Jeruſalem*) from St. *James*, commonly ſaid to be *no Apoſtle*; and the laſt (which became the ſecond or the firſt) from *no Apoſtle*, nor make any ſuch *pretence*; if thirteen Apoſtolick Provinces were then known.

But we eaſily acknowledge, that as Apoſtles having planted many Churches ſtaid a while in each, when they had ſetled it, and ſome time viſited it again; ſo they are by ſome hiſtorians called the *firſt Biſhops* of thoſe Churches, being indeed the *tranſient Governours* of them: In which ſenſe *one Church* might at once have *two or many Biſhops*, and *one Biſhop* many *Churches*, and he be Biſhop of one Church this week, who was Biſhop of another where he came the next.

Sect. VI. Chriſtian *Community*, (prepared to be a Polity) and a Chriſtian *family*, and a Chriſtian *Kingdom*, we doubt not may all prove their *Divine Right*; And if any will call theſe *Churches*, let us agree of the *definition*, and we will not *ſtrive about* the name.

Sect. VII. We know not of any proof that ever was produced, that *many Churches* of the *firſt Rank*, *muſt* (of duty) make *one fixed greater compound Church*, by Aſſociation, whether Claſſical, Dioceſan, Provincial, Patriarchal, or National: and that God hath inſtituted any ſuch Form: And we find the

the greateſt defenders of Prelacy, affirming that Claſſes, Provincial, Patriarchal, and National Churches, are but humane inſtitutions; of which more anon.

Sect. VIII. We find no proof that ever God determined the Churches ſhould neceſſarily be individuated by Pariſh-bounds or limits of ground; and that men in the ſame limits might not have divers Biſhops, and be of divers particular Churches.

Sect. IX. We never ſaw any ſatisfactory proof that ever Chriſt or his Apoſtles did inſtitute *any particular Church* (taken in a *Political ſenſe* as *organized*, and not meerly for a *Community*) without a Biſhop or Paſtor, who had the power of Teaching them, Ruling them by the Word and Power of the Church-Keys, and leading them in publick Worſhip.

Sect. X. Nor did we ever ſee it proved, that any *one Church* of this *firſt Rank* (which was not an *Aſſociation of Churches*) conſiſted in Scripture-times of many (much leſs many ſcore or hundred) ſuch fixed Churches or Congregations: Or that any one Biſhop of the firſt Rank (that was not an Apoſtle, or a Biſhop of Biſhops) of whom we now ſpeak not, had more than one of ſuch fixed Societies or Churches under him: Or might have more ſtated members of his Church, than were capable of *Perſonal Communion*, and mutual aſſiſtance at due ſeaſons, in holy *Doctrine*, *Diſcipline* and *Worſhip*: Though we doubt not but as now, there are many Chapels in ſome Pariſhes, where the aged, weak, children, and all in foul weather, or by *other* hinderances may hear, and pray, and occaſionally communicate,

nicate, whoſe proximity and relation to the Pariſh-Churches do make them capable of *Perſonal Communion* in due ſeaſons with the whole Pariſh (at leaſt *per vices*) in thoſe Churches, and in their converſation: And as a ſingle Congregation may prudently in perſecution, or foul weather, meet oft-times in ſeveral houſes; ſo the great Church of *Jeruſalem* (though it cannot be proved a quarter ſo big as ſome of our Pariſhes) might in thoſe times when they had no Temples, hold their publick Meetings oft at the ſame time in divers houſes; and yet be capable of *Perſonal Communion*, as it is before deſcribed.

Sect. II. It is not inconſiderable to our confirmation, that ſo worthy a man as Dr. *Hamond* doth over and over, in his *Diſſertations* againſt *Blondell*, and in his Learned Annotations on the new Teſtament, aſſert all the matter of fact which we are pleading for, *viz.* That the word [*Presbyter*] and [*Paſtor*] in the New Teſtament is ever taken for a Biſhop: That it belonged to the Biſhops office to be the Preacher to his Church, to viſit all the Sick, to take care of all the Poor, and to take Charge of the Churches ſtock, to adminiſter the Sacrament, &c. And (as he ſaith on *Acts* 11. 6.) "*That although this Title of πρεσβύτεροι, Elders,* "*have been alſo extended to a ſecond order in the* "*Church, and is now only in uſe for them, under* "*the name of Presbyters, yet in the Scripture-* "*time it belonged principally, if not alone, to* "*Biſhops, there being* NO EVIDENCE "*that any of that ſecond Order were then* "*inſtituted, though ſoon after before the writing of* "Ignatius's Epiſtles, *there were ſuch inſtituted in* "*all Churches.*]

Sect.

Sect. XII. By this it followeth, that 1. the office of a ſubject Presbyter that was no Biſhop was not in being (that can be proved) in Scripture-times. 2. That no Biſhop had more than one worſhiping aſſembly at once: For, all Chriſtians aſſembled for worſhip on the Lords dayes, and their worſhip ſtill included ſomewhat which none but a Miniſter of Chriſt might do, and when there was no other Miniſter in being but Biſhops, and a Biſhop can be but in one place at once, a Biſhop could have but one aſſembly. Though for our parts we think that we have juſt reaſon to believe, that Churches then had more Miniſters than one, when we read how *Paul* was put to reſtrain and regulate their publick officiating at *Corinth*, 1 *Cor.* 14.

Sect. XIII. And it further confirmeth us, that the ſaid Doctor tells us, that for ought he knoweth, the moſt of the Church then were of his mind: And *Franciſcus a ſancta clara de Epiſcop.* tells us, that this opinion came from *Scotus*: And *Petavius*, that Learned Jeſuit, was the man that brought it in, in our times, *viz.* *That the Apoſtles placed only Biſhops with Deacons in the Churches, and that it is only theſe Biſhops that are called Presbyters in Scripture.* So that the Matter of fact, for the whole Scripture-times, is granted us by all theſe learned men.

Sect. XIV. It being the *Divine Inſtitution* of the *Office* of this *ſecond Order* of Presbyters, which we are unſatisfied about; and theſe Reverend men confeſſing that *de facto* they were not in being (as can be proved by any evidence) in *Scripture-times*, and thoſe times extending to about

about the hundredth or ninety ninth year after Chriſts Nativity (when St. *John* wrote the *Revelation*) we muſt confeſs that we know not how that Order or Office can be proved then to be of God's inſtitution. 1. As to the *Efficient*; *who ſhould do it* as the certain authorized Inſtruments of *God*. 2. Or *how it ſhall be certainly proved to us* to be of *God*, when Scripture telleth it not to us; and what Records of it are infallible; And whether ſuch pretended proofs of *Tradition* as a *ſupplement to Scripture*, be not that which the Papacy is built on, and will not ſerve *their* turn as well as this.

Sect. XV. And whereas it is ſaid that the Biſhops made in Scripture-times had authority given them to make afterward that *ſecond Office* or *Order* of *Presbyters*: 1. We cannot but marvel then that in ſuch great Churches, as that at *Jeruſalem*, *Epheſus*, *Corinth*, *&c.* they ſhould never uſe their Power in all the Scripture-times. And when they had ſo many Elders at *Jeruſalem*, ſo many Prophets and Teachers at *Antioch* and *Corinth*, that *Paul* was fain to reſtrain their exerciſes, and bid them propheſie but One by One; and one ſaid, I am of *Paul*, and another, I am of *Apollo*, &c. there ſhould yet in that age be *none* found meet for Biſhops to ordain to this *ſecond ſort* of *Presbyters*, as well as men to make Deacons of.

2. But we never yet ſaw the proof produced, that indeed the Biſhops had *power given* them to inſtitute this *other Species* of Elders. Sure it belonged to the *Founders* of the Churches (Chriſt and his Apoſtles) to inſtitute the *Species* of Eccleſiaſtical Officers, though the Biſhops might

might make the *Individuals* afterwards. And where is the proof that the *Apoſtles* did inſtitute it? If Eccleſiaſtical generation imitate natural, the Biſhops would beget but *their like*: men beget men; ſo Phyſicians make Phyſicians, and ſo Biſhops may beget Biſhops: But he that ſaith they could morally firſt beget this *other Species*, muſt prove it.

Sect. XVI. When *Presbyters* were firſt diſtinct from Biſhops, we ſee no proof that it was as a diſtinct *Office* or *Order* in *ſpecie*, and not only as a *diſtinct degree* and *priviledge* of men in the ſame *Office*: Nor hath the Church of *Rome* it ſelf thought meet to determine this *as de fide* but ſuffereth its Doctors to hold the contrary.

Sect. XVII. It much confirmeth us in our judgment, that no mere Biſhop then had *more Churches than one* (as afore deſcribed) when we find that *Ignatius* (whoſe authority Dr. *Hamond Diſſert. cont. Blondel*: Laieth ſo much of the cauſe upon, and whom Biſhop *Pierſon* hath lately ſo induſtriouſly vindicated) doth expreſly make ONE ALTAR, and ONE BISHOP with the Presbyters and Deacons, to be the note of a *Church Unity* and *Individuation*. And that by *one Altar* is meant *one Table* of *Communion*, or *place* where that *Table ſtood*, is paſt doubt with the judicious and impartial. Whence learned Mr. *Joſeph Mede* doth argue as certain that then a Biſhops Church was *no other than ſuch as uſually communicated in one place*. Yea, ſaith *Ignatius*, the Biſhop muſt *take notice and account of each perſon*, even of *Man-ſervants* and *Maids* (that they come to the Church). And this was the Biſhop of a Seat, that after was

Patriarchal: Such Biſhops we do not oppoſe.

Sect. XVIII. We find proof that ordinarily Churches were firſt planted in *Cities* (there being not then in the *Villages* Chriſtians enough to make Churches:) But we find no proof that when there are Chriſtians enough to conſtitute Churches, they may not be planted in Villages alſo: Nor yet that there may not be more Churches than one in the ſame City: For ſo *Grotius* ſaith, There were even then when Chriſtians were comparatively but few, and that they were as the Jewiſh Synagogues in this reſpect. And Dr. *Hammond* largely aſſerteth that *Peter* had a Church of *Jews*, and *Paul* another of *Gentiles* at *Rome*, and that ſo it was in other Cities.

Sect. XIX. Much leſs is it by Divine Inſtitution, that Biſhops, and their Churches or Seats, be only in ſuch as *we now call Cities*, which by their priviledges are diſtinct from other great Towns and Corporations, whenas the word Πόλις then ſignified a *great Town* or *Corporation*, ſuch as our Market-Towns and Corporations now are.

Sect. XX. But it is the Law of God that all things about Churches and Church-affairs which he hath left to humane prudence, ſhould be done according to ſuch general Rules as he hath preſcribed for their regulation.

SECT.

SECT. IV

What Princes and Paſtors may do, in ſuch matters.

I. THeſe foreſaid General Laws of God, do both *give the Rulers their Power* for determining things committed to them, and alſo *limit* their power therein.

II. Theſe General Laws are, that *All things be done to Edification*, (the circumſtances fitted to the *End*, the *Glory of God*, and the *Publick Good*, the promoting of *Truth and Godlineſs*;) that all be done in *Love*, to the promoting of *Love and Unity*; and that all be done in *Order* and *Decently*, and as may avoid *offence* or *ſcandal* to all, both thoſe without, and thoſe within. *Gal.* 6. 15, 16. *Phil.* 3. 15, 16. 1 *Cor.* 14. 3, 5, 12. 26. 17. *Rom.* 14. 19. & 15. 2. 1 *Cor.* 10. 23. *Epheſ.* 4. 12, 16, 19. 2 *Cor.* 12. 19. & 6. 3. & 11. 7. 1 *Cor.* 8. 13.

III. Therefore no Rulers, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, have their power to ſcandalize and *deſtroy*, but only to *edifie*, being the Miniſters of God for good, *Rom.* 13. 3, 4, 5. 2 *Cor.* 10. 8. & 13. 10.

IV. The great Diſpute is (handled excellently againſt the Papiſts for Kings by *Biſhop Bilſon of Chriſtian Obedience*, *Biſhop Andrews Tortura Torti*, *Biſhop Buckeridge*, *Spalatenſis*, and many more) *whether the Kings of Chriſtian Kingdoms have not the ſame power about Church-matters, as the Kings of Iſrael and Judah had*

(*David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah*, &c.) which cannot be answered by an only *Yea* or *Nay*, without a more particular consideration of the compared Cases.

V. We suppose it certain that Christian Kings have *no lesser* power than the Kings of *Israel*, except 1. What any such King had as a *Prophet*, or in peculiar, by an *extraordinary grant*. 2. And what alteration is made by *alteration of Church-offices, Laws, and Worship*, which may make a difference; of which hereafter.

VI. And 1. It must be remembred that God then reserved the *Legislation* to *himself*, which he exercised by *Revelation*, and by special *Prophets*: And so the *Prophet Moses* delivered them that *Law*, which no King had power to abrogate, suspend, or alter by adding or diminishing, *Deut.* 12. 32. *Jos.* 1. But they had a *mandatory* power, and of making some *subordinate By-laws*, as Cities and Corporations have from and under the King.

VII. 2. Yea *great* and *special Mandates* were oft sent from God by *Prophets*, against which the Kings of *Israel* had no power.

VIII. 3. The *Executive* or *Judicial* Power was *divided*: part was in the Kings and Magistrates; and part was in the *Priests* and *Levites*, which the King could not usurp himself (as appeareth in *Uzziahs* offering Incense,) nor yet forbid the Priests to use it, according to God's Law; nor change or abrogate their Office. For *he* and *they* were subject to God's Laws.

IX. 4. God himself settled the *High Priesthood* on the *line of Aaron*, and *all the Priest-*

hood

hood on the *Tribe of Levi*; and it was not in the power of the King to alter it.

X. 5. God ſtated the High Prieſthood on the Prieſts *during life*, *Numb.* 35. 25, 28. *Joſ.* 20. 6, &c. which Law the Kings had no power to violate.

XI. 6. There are more particular Laws made by God for the duty of the Prieſts, deſcribing their office and work, than for any other particular caſe, as many hundred Texts will tell us: And none of theſe Laws might be altered, or ſuſpended by the Kings of *Iſrael*: Nor thoſe by which God ſtated ſome of the Judicial Power in the Congregation, *Num.* 35. 12. to 26.

XII. 7. *Solomon's* putting out *Abiathar*, and putting in *Zadok*, is not contrary to any of this: For (ſuppoſing the words 1 *King.* 2. 35. to be not only a hiſtory of the bare matter of fact, but a juſtification of it *de jure.*) 1. It poſeth learned men to reſolve how *Zadok* and *Abiathar* are oft ſaid to be both High Prieſts before, and *Zadok* ſtill put before *Abiathar*. 2. It is certain that *Zadok* had the right both of *Inheritance* and *eſpecial Promiſe*, *Numb.* 25. 11, 12, 13. 1 *Chron.* 6. 3, 4, &c. And what *Solomon* did was that the *word of the Lord might be fulfilled*. How the poſſeſſion came into the hands of the line of *Ithamar*, Expoſitors cannot find: It is like it was by occaſion of the confuſions of their oft Captivity and Anarchy in the interſpace of the Judges. 3. Even the Prieſts were the King's ſubjects, and might be puniſhed for their crimes, ſo it were according to God's Laws. And if *Abiathar* forfeited his life, he forfeited his Office.

XIII. 8. The Prieſthood then depended not on the inſtitution or will of the King or People: He might not put out a lawful Prieſt, that had not forfeited his Life or Office: He might not have put any one in his place that had not right from God, or that was unqualified: He might not have forbid the Prieſts the work appointed them by God: But yet if *he had injuriouſly* depoſed *one Abiathar*, and put in a *Zadok*, the loſs had been little to the Church: But if he had depoſed ſo *great a number* of the Prieſts and Levites, as that a great part of God's commanded work muſt needs thereby have been left undone, and Religion ſo far deſtroyed, or had as *Jeroboam*, put of the baſeſt of the people (or uncapable perſons) into the Prieſthood, the loſs had been greater, and the thing unwarrantable, and ſuch as he had not power from God to do.

XIV. And the quality of *Moſes Law* and its *Works*, as different from the Laws of Chriſt, and the Works thereof, muſt be conſidered, that we may diſcern the difference of the Caſes. A man that did attempt to draw the people to Idolatry, was then to be put to death; yea, the City to be deſtroyed that concealed him, *Deut. ch.* 13 ſo were they that blaſphemed, and ſuch as committed other heinous crimes againſt Religion; yea thoſe that would not enter *into*, or renew their Covenant with God, were by *Aſa's* command to be put to death: But Chriſt will have mens Atheiſm, Irreligiouſneſs, Idolatry and Infidelity, cured by the Preaching of the Truth, which therefore requireth that the Preachers for number and qualification be anſwerable to their

their work: especially seeing they are things so mysterious and supernaturally revealed, which men are to believe: And the works of *Moses's* Law lay very much in ceremony and outward actions, which a man of mean qualifications might easily do: But the great work of the Gospel is to *bring Life and Immortality to light*, and to Preach Christ, by whom came *Grace and Truth*, and more notably than the Law of *Moses* did, to call men to Mortification, Self-denial, Cross-bearing, contempt of the World, by Faith and Hope and Love of a better World, and to bring them to a heavenly mind and life: And mens salvation is laid on this. If it were but to offer Sacrifices, and do over the task of outward Ceremonies, a Mass-Priests qualifications might serve the turn: And if it were but to put men to death that will not be *Jews*, and take their Covenant, and that draw any from their Religion, neither so *many* nor so *excellent* Ministers were necessary: But we are under a better Covenant, even a Law of Love which is more eminently become the first and last, the great and new Commandment, and the regent Principle in Souls and Churches; and the number and quality of the Preachers of it must be answerable.

XV. As *Moses* was God's ministerial Lawgiver to the *Israelites*, and was faithful in all his trust; so Christ is the *great Prophet like unto him*, as typified by him, whom God hath raised up to his Church, whom they that *hear not*, shall be cut off by God, and from that Church as he hath appointed: The *Legislation Universal* is now the *work of Christ* by himself,

and by the Holy Ghoſt, which he promiſed and gave for that uſe to his Apoſtles, that they might infallibly underſtand his will, and remember what he had commanded them to teach the world.

XVI. *Kings* or *Paſtors* may not now alter or ſuſpend any of theſe *Laws of Chriſt*, any more than the Jewiſh Kings or Prieſts might alter or ſuſpend the Laws of *Moſes*.

XVII. Chriſt hath inſtituted a Miniſtry to be for ever ſtabliſhed in the world, to Preach his Goſpel, to convert volunteers unto Faith and Holineſs, and to gather by Baptiſm all Conſenters into his Covenant and Church, and to teach them all that he hath commanded them. And this none have power to overthrow.

XVIII. He hath ſtated on the Paſtors of ſuch Churches, the Power afore deſcribed, of Teaching Aſſemblies and particular perſons, of leading them in publick Worſhip, and Sacraments, and of judging by the power of the Keys, whom to receive into their communion by Baptiſm, and profeſſion of Faith, and whom to admoniſh, and for obſtinate impenitence to reject: And this Inſtitution none may alter.

XIX. He hath inſtituted ordinary Aſſemblies, and ſtated particular Churches, as is aforeſaid, for theſe holy exerciſes, and forbad all Chriſtians to forſake them; and he and his Apoſtles have appointed and ſeparated the Lord's day hereunto. None therefore may abrogate or ſuſpend theſe Laws. All this is proved, *Matth.* 28. 19,20. & 16.19. & 18. 18,19. *Joh.* 20. 23. *Luk.* 12. 37, 38. *Mat.* 21. 36. & 22. 4, 5, &c. & 24. 45,46. *Heb.* 10.25,26. *Act.* 11.26. 1 *Cor.* 14. *Epheſ.*

Ephes. 4. 4. to 17. 1 *Thes.* 5. 12, 13. *Heb.* 13. 17, 24. *Tit.* 1. 5, 6, &c. 1 *Tim.* 3. *Act.* 14. 23. *Act.* 20. 1 *Cor.* 16. 1, &c.

XX. Christs Laws empower and oblige the Bishops or *senior* Pastors to Ordain others for this Ministerial service of the Church; and so to propagate their order to the end of the world: By which Ordination, 1. They are *Judges of the persons qualifications*, whether he be such as Christs Laws admit into his Ministry. 2. And they *solemnly invest him* in the office. But the *Power* with which they ministerially invest him (delivering him possession as Christ appointed) *resulteth directly* from the *Law or Donation of Christ*; As the power of a *Mayor* from the *Charter* of the King, and not from the *Electors* or *Investers*. None therefore have power given them by Christ, to *hinder* such *Ordination* and *Propagation* of such a Ministry; *Act.* 14. 23. *Tit.* 1. 5.

XXI. So exceeding great are the benefits and priviledges of being *members of Christ*, and *his Church universal* and *particular*, that no *unwilling* person is immediately capable of it: Nor is it possible *ex natura rei*, for any (adult) person that *consenteth not* to be a Christian, or a Member of any particular Church. He cannot be a *just Communicant against his will*; nor *pray* and *praise* God with the Church; nor take a man for *his Pastor*, or *use him* as a Pastor, *against his will*: And God hath laid mens *salvation* or *damnation* on the choice or refusal of their wills. Therefore no man can be the *Bishop or Pastor* of a Church, either *de jure*, or truly *de facto*, against the Church or Peoples will, or without their

their conſent. And as the *Nature* of the thing proveth this, ſo doth the ſacred Scripture, *Act.* 14. 23. & 2. 37. 38. 1 *Joh.* 1. 7. *Mat.* 28. 19. And ſo doth the judgment and practice of Chriſt's Church, for many hundred years; which is ſo fully proved by *Blondell, de jure plebis*, and confeſſed by the Papiſts themſelves, and ſo expreſs in all antiquity, that we need not add the proof. Therefore no power may change this *Law of Nature*, and *of Chriſt*; nor can they by any Law, Mandate, Choice, Ordination, Inſtitution, Impoſition, or other act, make any man a *real Paſtor* to that People that *conſent not* to the relation. Nor are they *any true particular Churches*, where *Paſtor and People* do not conſent. No more than the relation of *Husband and Wife, Maſter and Servant, Tutor and Scholars*, can be *without conſent*.

XXII. Chriſt and his Spirit have *commanded* his *Miniſters* to *preach the Word, to be inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon; to reprove, rebuke and exhort*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 1, 2. And having *put their hand to Chriſt's Plough*, not to *look back*; and none hath power to alter this Law of Chriſt, or to ſuſpend it. His Miniſters by his Authority preached againſt the will of Princes for above three hundred years; and ſince then againſt the wills of erroneous Princes who profeſſed Chriſtianity.

XXIII. If Church-Hiſtory be not to be believed, the pleas thence uſed for Prelacy muſt ceaſe: If it be to be believed, God hath wrought miracles to juſtifie thoſe that would not ceaſe Preaching, when Princes, yea Chriſtian-Princes, have forbidden them: And the Church hath honoured

honoured their fidelity herein: The caſe of *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, *Meletius*, and abundance more, evince the later: And for the former, we will now inſtance but in the caſe of the Biſhops of *Africa*, whoſe tongues were cut out by the King's command; and they ſpake freely by miracle after they were cut out; as is teſtified by *Æneas Gazeus*, and by *Victor Uticenſis*, who ſaw and ſpake with, and heard the perſons when this miracle was wrought upon them; and by *Procopius*.

XXIV. It will be objected that *Conſtantius*, *Valens*, *Genſericus*, *Hunnericus*, &c. were Arrians, and the later conquering Uſurpers.

Anſw. 1. Even *Heathen* Emperours and Kings are our Governours, though they want due *aptitude* to their duty (as alſo do many wicked Chriſtian Princes:) And we owe them obedience when their Laws or Mandates are not againſt the Laws of God. We muſt not ſay as *Bellarmine*, that *Chriſtians ſhould not tolerate ſuch Princes*, and that the *ancient Chriſtians ſuffered for want of Power to reſiſt*. 2. Let the Emperours called Arrians be made no worſe than they were: Some were for Concord and Toleration of both Parties, and ſo are more ſuſpected than proved to be Arrians: And Arrians themſelves, (though unexcuſably erroneous) were not like the Socinians, that utterly deny Chriſt's Deity: They *ſubſcribed* to all the *Nicene* Creed, ſave the the word [ὁμοούσιος] They would ſay that Chriſt was [*Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made*, &c.] They thought that as the *Sunbeams* or *Light* are its immediate emanation, but not its ſubſtance (as commonly Philoſophers

ſay

ſay they are not, how true we ſay not) ſo Chriſt was an immediate emanation from the Father, before and above Angels, by whom all things elſe were made. And how dangerouſly *Juſtin*, and moſt of the ancienteſt Doctors before the *Nicene* Council ſpeak hereabout, and how certainly *Euſebius* and other great Biſhops were Arrians, and how lamentably the Council at *Ariminum* endeavoured an uniting Reconciliation, by laying by the word [ὁμοούσιος] And even old *Oſius* by their cruelty yielded to them; as *Liberius* ſubſcribed to them, we need not ſend any men to *Philoſtorgius* nor *Sandius* for proof, it being ſo largely proved by D. *Petavius de Trinitate*, who fully citeth their dangerous words.

And if the *heterodoxies* of the *Prince* ſhall be made the reaſon of the *Subjects diſobeying* him, in a matter lawful in it ſelf (as ſome that we ſpeak to now ſuppoſe) we ſhall hardly know where to ſtop, nor what bounds to ſet the Subjects when they are made Judges of the Princes Errours; and what examination or cogniſance of it, they muſt have.

3. *Conſtantine* that baniſhed *Athanaſius* (who kept in while he could againſt the Emperours will) is not proved an Arrian: Nor *Valentinian*, who commanded *Ambroſe*, (not to ceaſe Preaching himſelf, nor to forſake his Church, nor to ſubſcribe to Arrianiſm, but only) to tolerate the Arrians to meet in one ſpare Church, which was in *Millan*, as an act of moderation: But *Ambroſe* reſolutely diſobeyed the Emperour (we juſtifie not the manner) becauſe he thought that God's Law made it his office as Biſhop, ſo to do.

4. And

4. And as to *Genſericus* and *Hunnericus*'s Uſurpation, it was then ordinary with the Biſhops even of *Rome*, to ſubmit to men that had no better title; and alas, how few of many of the old *Roman* Emperours had any better (at leaſt, at firſt.)

XXV. We doubt not at all but that Kings are the Governours of Biſhops, and Churches, by coercive power, as truly as of Phyſicians, or other Profeſſions: And though they have no Authority to abrogate or ſuſpend the Laws of Chriſt, yet they have a Power of Legiſlation, under Chriſt, as Corporations for By-laws have under them: which power is only about thoſe things which God hath left to their determination; and not either *above Chriſt*, *againſt Chriſt*, or in *coordination with Chriſt*, but only in ſuch *ſubordination* to *him*, and to his *Laws*.

XXVI. How far Rulers have power (or not) to command things indifferent, and how far things ſcandalous and evil by accident, ſome of us have opened already diſtinctly, and need not here repeat.

XXVII. And we have there ſhewed, that as they may regulate Phyſicians by General and Cautionary Laws, but not overthrow their *Calling* on that pretence, by preſcribing to the Phyſician all the Medicines which he ſhall uſe, to this or that Patient, at this or that time, &c. ſo they may make ſuch General and Cautionary *Laws, circa ſacra*, 1. As ſhall drive Biſhops and Paſtors on to do their certain duties: 2. And as ſhall duely reſtrain them from ſin and doing hurt: 3. And they may puniſh them by the

ſword

ſword or force, for ſuch crimes as deſerve that puniſhment. And a King of *England* may depoſe, or put to death a traiterous Biſhop, Prieſt or Deacon, as lawfully as *Solomon* depoſed *Abiathar*.

XXVIII. And as we have there ſaid, we ſuppoſe that there are *ſome circumſtances* of the Miniſters work, which it belongeth to his *own office* to determine of, and are a true part of his *Miniſterial* works: But there are *others*, which it is meet ſhould be *univerſally* determined of, for the Concord of *all the Churches in a Kingdom*. Theſe the Paſtors and Churches by *conſent* may agree in without a Law, if Kings leave it to them. And Kings (by the adviſe of ſuch as beſt underſtand Church Caſes) may well by their *own Laws* make ſuch determinations. As for inſtance in what *Scripture Tranſlations*, what *Verſions and Metres* of Pſalms, the Churches ſhall agree. Much more may they determine of the *Publick Maintenance* of Miniſters, and the *Temples* and ſuch other extrinſick accidents.

XXIX. Princes and Rulers may forbid Atheiſts, Infidels, Hereticks and Malignant oppoſers of neceſſary truth and godlyneſs, and all that preach rebellion and ſedition, that propagate ſuch wicked Doctrine, and may puniſh them if they do it. And may hinder the incorrigible, and all that provedly or notoriouſly are ſuch whoſe Preaching will *do more hurt to men than good*, from exerciſing the Miniſtry or Preaching in their juriſdiction or Dominions: For ſuch have not any power from Chriſt ſo to Preach, but ſerve the Enemy of Chriſt and man.

XXX. Princes and Rulers may for order ſake diſtribute their Chriſtian Kingdoms into *Pariſhes*, which ſhall be the ordinary bounds of particular Churches: And ſuch diſtribution is very congruous to the Ends of the Miniſtry and Churches, and conduceth to orderly ſettlement and peace: And experience hath ſhewed us that ſuch Pariſh Churches where the Paſtors are faithfull and fit, may live as Chriſtians ſhould do to their mutuall comfort in Piety, Love and Peace: And ſuch *Pariſh-order* we deſire.

XXXI. But no Rulers may hence conclude, 1. that *Pariſhes* are diſtributed by *God immediately*, or that he hath commanded ſuch a diſtribution as a thing of *abſolute neceſſity* to a Church; But the Generall Rules of *order, and Edification* do ordinarily in Chriſtian Kingdomes require it. 2 Nor may any make a *Pariſh, as ſuch* to be a *Church*; and all to be Church members that are in the Pariſh, as ſuch: for Atheiſts, Infidels, Hereticks, & Impenitent Rebels may live in the Pariſh; and many that *conſent* not to be members of that or any Church: And not only in worſe lands but in *Ireland* and in *England*, (as part of *Lancaſhire*,) the far greateſt part of the Pariſhioners are Papiſts, (who renounce the Proteſtant Churches) in ſome places.

XXXII. Neither dwelling in the Pariſh, nor the Law of the Land, makes any Chriſtian a member of that Pariſh Church, without or before his own conſent: But proximity is part of his extrinſick aptitude and the law of man or command of his Prince may make it his *duty* to *conſent*, and thereby to become a member when greater

greater Reaſons mollify not that obligation.

XXXIII. *Pariſh Bounds* and ſuch other humane diſtributions for conveniency, may be *altered by men*; and they bind not againſt any of Chriſts own Laws and predeterminations; nor when any changes turn them *againſt the good ends* for which they are made; of which more afterward, when we ſpeak of ſeparation.

XXXIIII. And about theſe humane Church-Laws the general Caſe muſt be well conſidered, how far they are obligatory to conſcience, and in what caſes they ceaſe to bind. *Sayrus*, *Fragoſo* and other the moſt Learned and Moderate Caſuiſts of the Papiſts, ordinarily conclude, that Humane Laws bind not, when they are not for the Common good. We had rather ſay, that *when they are notoriouſly againſt the Laws of Chriſt*, or *againſt* the *Common good*, *or are made by uſurpation without authority thereto*, *they bind not to formal obedience in that particular*, (*though ſometime other reaſons*, *eſpecially* the honour *of our Rulers*, *may bind* us to *material obedience*, *when the* matter is indifferent; and though ſtill our ſubjection and loyalty muſt be maintained. But of this before, and more largely by one of us, *Chriſtian directory*, *Part.* 4. *Chap.* 3. *Tit.* 3. &c. The Council of *Toletum.* 1355 decreed that their decrees ſhall bind none *ad culpam* but only *ad pœnam* ſee *Bin. Inoc.* 6th.

Sect. XXXV. Kings and Magiſtrates ſhould ſee that their Kingdoms be well provided of publick Preachers and *Catechiſts*, to convert Infidels and Impious men where there are ſuch, and to prepare ſuch for Baptiſme, and Church priviledges

viledges and Communion, as are not yet Baptized, but are Catechumens: And they may by due means compel the ignorant to hear and learn what Christianity is, though not to *become Christians* (for that is impossible) nor to *profess* that which *is not true*, nor to *take Church-Priviledges*, to which they *have no right*, and of which at present they are *uncapable*. But they may grant those rewards and civil Priviledges to Christians and Churches for their encouragement, which they are not bound to give to others, and which may make a moving difference, without unrighteous constraint.

XXXVI. Christ and his Apostles having (as is aforesaid) settled the Right of *Ordination* on the *Senior Pastors* or Bishops, and the Right of *Consenting* in the People, (and this continued long even under Christian Emperours) Princes or Patrons may not deprive either party of their Right, but preserving such Rights, they may 1. *Offer* meet Pastors to the *Ordainers* and *Consenters* to be accepted, when there is just cause for their interposition: 2. They may hinder both Ordainers and People from introducing intollerable men: 3. They may, when a Peoples *Ignorance*, *Faction* or *Wilfulness* maketh them refuse all that are truly fit for them, urge them to accept the best; and may possess such of the Temples, and Publick Maintenance, and make it consequently to become the Peoples duty to *consent*, as is aforesaid; so also when they are divided.

XXXVII. Princes ought to be Preservers of Peace and Charity among the Churches, and to hinder Preachers from unrighteous and uncha-

ritable reviling each other, and their unpeaceable controverſies and contentions.

XXXVIII. Chriſt himſelf hath inſtituted the *Baptiſmal Covenant* to be the *Title* of Viſible Members of his Church, and the *Symbol* by which they ſhall be notified: And he hath commanded all the baptized as Chriſtians, to *Love each other as themſelves*; and though *weak in the faith, to receive one another, as Chriſt receiveth us, but not to doubtful diſputations*; and ſo far *as they have obtained to walk by the ſame rule*, of Love, and Peace, and not to *deſpiſe* or *judge* each other for tolerable differences (much leſs to hate, revile, or deſtroy each other;) and it *ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and the Apoſtles, to lay no greater burden on the Churches*, even of the Ceremonies which God had once commanded, but *Neceſſary things*, *Act.* 15. 28. And theſe terms of Church-Union and Concord which Chriſt hath made, no mortal man hath power to abrogate. All things therefore of inferiour nature, though *Verities* and *Good*, muſt be no otherwiſe impoſed by Rulers, than as may ſtand with theſe univerſal Laws of Chriſt, which are the true way to prevent Church-Schiſms.

XXXIX. Princes by their Laws, or Paſtors by conſent where Princes leave it to them, may ſo aſſociate many particular Churches for orderly correſpondencie and concord, and appoint ſuch times and places for Synods, and ſuch orders in them, as are agreable to Gods aforeſaid generall Laws, of doing all in Love, to Edification and in order; And how far, if Rulers ſhould miſs this generall Rule, they are yet to be obeyed, we have opened elſewhere.

XL. As

XL. As we have there alſo ſaid that Princes may make their own Officers to execute their Magiſtratical Power *circa ſacra* (which we acknowledge in our King in our Oath of Supremacy ;) and if ſuch be called, *Eccleſiaſtical*, and their Courts and Laws ſo called alſo, that ambiguous name doth not intimate them to be of the ſame *ſpecies* as Chriſts ordained Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, or as his Churches and Laws are ; ſo now we add that if Princes ſhall authorize any particular Biſhops or Paſtors to excerciſe any ſuch viſiting, conventing, ordering, moderating, admoniſhing, or governing power as it belongeth to the Prince to give, not contrary to Chriſts Laws, or the duties by him commanded, and priviledges by him granted to particular Churches, we judge that Subjects ſhould obey all ſuch, even for conſcience ſake : However, our conſideration of Chriſts deciſion of his diſciples controverſie, *who ſhould be the greateſt* and our certain knowledge how neceſſary, *Love*, and *Lowlineſs*, and how pernicious, *wrath* and *Lordly-Pride* are in thoſe that muſt win ſouls to Chriſt, and imitate him in bearing (not making) the croſs, together with the ſad hiſtory of the Churches diſtractions and corruption by *Clergy-Pride* and *Worldlineſs* (lamented by *Nazianzene*, *Baſil*, *Hilary Pictavus*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Iſidore Peluſiot*, *Bernard*, and multitudes more, yea by ſome Popes themſelves) theſe and other reaſons we ſay doe make us wiſh, that the Clergy had never been truſted with the ſword, or any degree of forcing power, or ſecular pomp ; yet if Princes judge otherwiſe, we muſt obediently ſubmit to all their Officers.

XLI. It ſeemeth by the phraſe of His Maieſties Declaration about Eccleſiaſtical affairs 1660, in which (after conſultation with his Reverend Biſhops) *the Paſtoral way of Perſwaſion, reproofs* and *admonitions* are granted to the Presbyters that a diſtinction is intended between *this Paſtoral* and the *Prelatical* Government, And we muſt, with very great concern, profeſs that if the *Churches of the loweſt ſort* (*Parochial*) *be but indeed made true Churches*, ſuch *as Chriſt by his Apoſtles inſtituted, and not only Parts* of a *Dioceſan Church as if that were* the loweſt *rank*; *And if theſe particular Churches have but Paſtors that have the power of the Keys in thoſe Churches, and all that the ſcripture maketh eſſential to the Office which was then ſet over every ſuch particular Church*; *And if the Diſcipline inſtituted by Chriſt himſelf, be but made poſſible* and *feaſible* in *ſuch Parochiall Churches, yea if we that were truſted by our calling with the myſteries of God, may not be forced our ſelves, to adminiſter the Sacraments againſt our own knowledge & conſciences, and againſt our conſciences and knowledge of mens caſes to pronounce men abſolved, or excommunicate upon other mens decrees, or to pronounce the notoriouſly wicked to be ſaved, and to deny worthy Chriſtians the ſeal of Chriſts Covenant, nor their infants their viſible Chriſtianity by baptiſm*; *we ſay, might we but have this much, we ſhould be ſo far from raiſing* the *Controverſie about the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy as a diſtinct Order from Presbyters, to any ſchiſm, or injury to the Church, that we ſhould thankfully contribute our beſt endeavours* to *the concord, ſafety, peace and proſperity thereof. And might we but alſo be freed*

from Swearing, Subſcribing, Declaring, and Covenanting unneceſſary things (which we take not to be true) againſt our conſciences, and from ſome few unneceſſary Practices which we cannot juſtifie, we ſhould joyfully ſerve the Church in our publick Miniſtry, though it were in poverty and rags. But of ſo great a mercy *experience* hath made our hopes from men to be very ſmall: And the reaſon of the thing maketh our hopes as ſmall of the happineſs of the Church of *England*, till God ſhall unite us on theſe neceſſary terms,

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SECT. VI.

3. *What Separation, and what Gathering of Aſſemblies or Churches is unlawful, and what lawful.*

I. THough ſome mens abuſe of the word [Schiſm] and calling mens duty to God by that name, hath proved a great temptation to many, to take it but for a word of Paſſion, or of no certain or odious ſignification (even as the Papiſts abuſe of the word [*Hereſie*] and [*Heretick*] hath been to others) yet the evill of true *Shiſm* and the odium that God layeth on it in the Scripture, ſhould move all Chriſtians, to fear the thing and uſe the name with the diſgrace that it truely importeth (without miſapplication,) and to avoid all guilt of ſo great a ſin.

II. There are ſeveral ſorts and degrees of Schiſm, which greatly differ from each other

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Its one thing to *divide from a Church*, and another to *cauſe diviſions or factions in it*. Its one thing to divide *our ſelves* from it, and another to *cauſe others* to divide. Its one thing to draw men away *by words*, and another to *drive* them away by *laws* or *execution*, by unjuſt *excommunication* or by violent *perſecution*. Its one thing to temptaway or drive away a *ſingle perſon*, or a few; and another thing to draw or drive away *multitudes*. Its one thing to ſeparate from the *Univerſal-Church*, and another from a *particular Church*, or a few only. Its one thing to ſeparate from the *ſpecies* of particular Churches, and another from ſome *individuals* only. Its one thing to ſeparate from the Churches of *Chriſts inſtitution*, and another to ſeparate only from thoſe of *mens inſtitution*. Its one thing to ſeparate from ſuch *as men make lawfully*, and another from ſuch only as they make *without authority*, and *ſinfully*. And here ſeparating from one whoſe ſinful conſtitution is *traiterous* againſt Chriſts prerogative (as the Papal Univerſal Uſurpation) much differeth from ſeparating from one whoſe conſtitution though ſinful, is of no ſuch perniciouſneſs.

It is one thing to deny *total Communion*, and another to ſeparate but *ſecundum quid* for ſome *act* or *part*; And that is either a *great and neceſſary* part or ſome *ſmall* or *indifferent* thing or *ceremony*. It is one thing to ſeparate *Locally* by *bodily abſence*, and another *mentally* by Schiſmaticall principles. It is one thing to ſeparate from a Church as accuſing it to be *no Church of Chriſt*, and another to ſeparate from it only as a true Church but ſo *Corrupted* as not to be *Communicated with*. Its one thing to judge its

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Communion *abſolutely unlawful*, and another only to forſake it *for a better* which is preferred: Its one thing to *depart willfully*, and another to be *unwillingly caſt out*. Its one thing to depart *raſhly* and in *haſt*, and another to depart after *due patience*, when reformation appeareth *hopeleſs*. It is one thing to remove upon *religious reaſons*, and another upon *Civil* or *Domeſtical*, or *Corporal*.

It is eaſy for a confounded head to paſs over all ſuch diſtinctions, and with unjuſt and confounding cenſures to reproach others as Schiſmaticks in the dark, before he knoweth what ſchiſm is, being guilty of Schiſm in his very accuſations. But ſober Chriſtians muſt be *diſcerners*, and know that confuſion is an Enemy to *truth* and *love* and *juſtice*.

III. 1 The Union of the *Church Univerſal* is in the ſeven things mentioned by Paul *Eph.* 4. 3.4,5.6. *viz.* One Body, One *S*pirit (of faith and Love) *One Hope* (of Glory) One *Lord*, *One faith* (or Creed,) One *Baptiſmal* Covenant, *One God* and *Father of all*. He that ſeparateth from this Church directly, is *an Apoſtate*; *Viſibly*, if from its *Eſſential profeſſion*, and *inviſibly* if only from the *inward ſincerity* of *faith*, *conſent* and *Love*. This is damning ſeparation. And if he ſeparate but from ſome one Eſſentiall article of faith or duty, it is that which is moſt uſually and ſtrictly called *Hereſie*; of which we are now to ſpeak no further.

IV. 2. To make Factions, Parties, Contentions, and Mutinies in a true *Church* of Chriſt, or in any *Community* of Chriſtians, yea or but in *fami-*

lies, in the Univerſal Church is a great ſin, in all that are the true culpable Cauſes of it, and are not only the involuntary occaſions by unavoidable accidents.

V. 3. To ſeparate from *all the particular Churches* in the world, as if they were *no true Political Churches* of Chriſt (as thoſe called *Seekers* do, who ſay that the *Miniſtry*, *Scripture* and *Churches*, are loſt in the wilderneſs,) is a very heinous ſin, though ſuch as do ſo, renounce not their *Baptiſm*, or the *Church Univerſal*.

VI. 4. To ſeparate from *moſt*, or *many* Churches by ſo *unchurching them*, is far worſe than to ſeparate from *few* or *one*; it being a greater wrong to Chriſt and men.

VII. 5. To ſeparate from *one* upon a *reaſon* that is known to be *common to all*, or *moſt*, or *many*, is virtually to ſeparate from *all*, or *moſt*, or *many*.

VIII. 6 To ſeparate from a *true Church*, accuſing it to be *no true Church*, is a greater injury and ſin (*cæteris paribus*) than to ſeparate from it only on an unjuſt accuſation or *culpability* conſiſtent with a true Church: Becauſe the charge is more odious and injurious, and tendeth more to deſtroy Love.

IX. 7. To accuſe a Church (its *Doctrine*, *Miniſtry Worſhip* or *Diſcipline*) *falſly*, as guilty of ſuch corruption which maketh it unlawful for any *Chriſtians to have communion* with it, or falſly to pretend ſuch *faults* for his own and others ſeparation from it, is a great ſin, though not ſo great as to *unchurch it*.

X. 8. To hold that *every Error* in the Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, Paſtors or People of that Church, yea though ſettled and continued,

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and foreknown, not forced on us to conſent to or practice, is ſufficient cauſe to make Communion with the Church unlawful, is to hold a principle which would infer ſeparation from all the known Churches in this world.

XI. 9. To *draw others* to ſuch ſeparation by ſuch falſe accuſations or opinions, is worſe than to do it ſilently ones ſelf; and the *more* the *worſe*.

XII. 10. The more ſuch accuſations ſtrike at the heart of *Chriſtian Love*, which is the life of holy Societies, and of *Holineſs* it ſelf; and the more they draw men from *Piety*, and to *hate*, and *abuſe*, and *wrong* each other, the greater is the ſin.

XIII. 11. When men erroneouſly and cauſleſly gather *ſeparated Members* from *true Churches where they ſhould continue*, into *Antichurches*, or Societies, where their *buſineſs is to make others unjuſtly odious that differ from them*; this is to gather Schiſmatical Societies: And if they pretend themſelves wiſer than the *Generality of the true Orthodox Churches* in the world, and ſo ſeparate from them, they were for this called Hereticks at firſt: But if it be but upon a quarrel with *ſome particular neighbour Church* or Paſtor it was called a *Schiſm*.

XIV. 12. If any *proud*, or *paſſionate*, or *erroneous* perſon do, as *Diotrephes*, caſt out the brethren undeſervedly, by *unjuſt ſuſpenſions, ſilencings*, or *excommunications*, it is tyrannical Schiſm, what better name ſoever cloak it.

XV. 13. If any ſhould make *ſinful terms of Communion*, by *Laws*, or *Mandates*, impoſing *things forbidden by God*, on thoſe that will have Com-

Communion with them, and expelling thoſe that will not ſo ſin, this were heinous Schiſm: And the further thoſe Laws extend, and the more Miniſters or People are caſt out by them, the greater is the Schiſm.

XVI. 14. If any ſhould not only excommunicate ſuch perſons for not complying with them in ſin, but alſo *proſecute* them with *mulcts, impriſonments, baniſhments,* or other *proſecution,* to force them to tranſgreſs, this were yet more heinouſly aggravated Schiſm.

XVII. 15. All thoſe would be deeply guilty of ſuch Schiſm who by *talk, writing,* or *preaching, juſtifie* it, and cry it up, and draw others into the guilt, and reproach the Innocent as Schiſmaticks, for not offending God.

XVIII. 16. If any ſhould corrupt ſuch a Church, or its *Doctrine, Worſhip,* or *Diſcipline* in the very *Eſſentials* by ſetting up *forbidden Officers,* and *Worſhip,* or caſting out the *Officers, Worſhip* or *Diſcipline* inſtituted by Chriſt, and then proſecute others for not communicating with them; this would be yet the more heinous Schiſm.

XIX. 17. If either of the laſt named ſorts, would not be content with mens *Communion* with them, but would alſo *ſilence* and *proſecute* ſuch as will not *own, juſtifie,* and *conſent* to all that they do, by *ſubſcriptions, declarations, covenants, promiſes,* or *oaths*; this would yet be a more aggravated Schiſm.

XX. 18. If the men that do this ſhould be mere *obtruders and uſurpers,* that have no true Paſtoral power over thoſe whom they perſecute (as the Pope over other Kingdoms and Churches)

ches) this were yet more aggravated ſchiſme.

XXI. 19. If ſuch Uſurpers will claim a dominion or Monarchy over all the world, and unchurch, degrade and unchriſten all that will not be their Subjects, or will impoſe ſinful termes of Vnion upon all the Chriſtian World, and declare all Hereticks or Schiſmaticks, that receive them not, and ſo caſt out moſt of the Chriſtians on Earth, and all the ſounder Churches, this is one of the moſt heynous ſorts of Schiſm, that the mind of man can think of. Which is the grand Schiſm of the *Roman* Papacy, worſe than all their interior Schiſms when they had many Popes at once.

XXII. 20. If ſuch ſhall ſend agents and emiſſaries into the Dominions of Chriſtians Princes or States, to draw the Subjects to that Schiſme, and make them believe that Princes are by right the Subjects of the Pope, and that men ſhall be damned if they will not take him for the Biſhop or Vice-chriſt of all the World and keep up a rich and numerous Clergie in Chriſtian Kingdomes for this uſe, and make Decrees to exterminate or burn Chriſtians, and to depoſe temporal Lords that will not obey them and execute their lawes, This is to maintain and proſecute a Schiſme againſt Religious and Civill peace, by open hoſtility to Princes and People, and to mankind.

XXIII. 21. If, becauſe the *Roman* Emperours and Clergie ſetled five Patriarchs in the Roman Empire, of which the Roman Biſhop was the firſt, and by Councils called *General* of that Empire, did make Church Laws to bind the Subjects

Subjects, any therefore will teach that these Patriarchs, (and the Pope as *Principium unitatis*) must be Rulers in the dominions of other Princes, and that such Councils must govern them by their Decrees and that the Universal Church must be united in any one mortal head, whether *Personal* or Collective (such as General Councils,) and so would bring Christian Princes and people under the Laws and Government of forreigners, and brand those as Schismaticks that will not fall in with such an Universal Church Policie, This were also a very heinous sort of Schism. For the Universal Church never did, nor will be united on such termes ; And therefore to make such terms of its unity, is to make an Engine to divide it, and tear it all into pieces.

XXIV. 22. If any will confine the *Power* or *Exercise* of the *Church Keyes* into so *few hands* as shall make the Exercise of *Christs Discipline impossible* (as by laying that work on *one*, which *multitudes* are too few to do ;) or shall make *Churches* so *great*, and *Pastors* so *few*, as that the *most of the people* must needs be *without true Pastoral oversight, teaching and publick worship*, and then will forbid those people to Commit the Care of their souls to *any others* that will be *Pastors indeed*, and so would compel them to be *without Christs ordinances*, true *Church Communion* and *Pastoral help*, This would be Schismatical, and much worse.

XXV. 23. If any Pastors will *deny Baptism*, which is their investiture in the *Christian Church*, to the *Adult* that refuse to receive the tran-

tranſient Image of the Crucifix (or any thing equal to it) as a Dedicating means to conſecrate them to God, and to ſignifie their Covenant Engagement to Chriſt, and as a badge and ſymbol of the Chriſtian Religion, it ſeemeth to us to be Schiſmaticall, when Chriſt himſelf inſtituted Baptiſm without ſuch a Covenanting Image, to be the teſt and bond of his Churches unity: But if thoſe Paſtors hold Baptiſm *neceſſary* alſo to *ſalvation*, and *yet* will ſo deny it to ſuch, this ſeemeth a great aggravation. The ſame we ſay of ſuch Paſtors as reject from Baptiſm and the Church, the Infants of true Chriſtians on the aforeſaid account: As alſo of thoſe that reject them from Baptiſm, becauſe the Parents will not offer them to it, unleſs they *may themſelves be the Covenanters in their own Childrens names*, and the *Expreſs dedicaters* of *them to God*, and becauſe they either *cannot get credible Godfathers*, or *will not* put others to *promiſe* the *Chriſtian Education* of *their children*, who they have no reaſon to believe do at all intend it, or will ever do it, we can excuſe no ſuch rejection of Chriſtian Infants from Chriſts Church, from Schiſm.

XXVI. 24. If ſome Chriſtians be of opinion that Chriſts example bindeth them to receive the Lords Supper in a Table geſture, or that the tradition of the Univerſal Church and the Canon 20th of the Nicene Councill is obligatory to them, which forbad men to *adore Kneeling* on any Lords day in the year, or on any week day between *Eaſter* and *Whitſuntide* (which no other General Council revoked, but continued till meer uſage by degrees wore it out, ſaith Dr. *Heylin*

Heylin of the Sabbath, above 1000 years after Chriſt.) Or if the ſaid perſons ſhould think that to receive Kneeling were ſuch a ſcandalous appearance of the Papiſts Bread-worſhip, as the bowing before an Image forbidden by the 2d. Commandement was a ſcandalous appearance of Idol-worſhip, though theſe perſons did in this miſtake, we could not excuſe our ſelves from Schiſm, if we ſhould therefore refuſe them Sacramental-Communion: Nor if we ſhould *Aſſent* and *Conſent* to the rejection of men for ſo ſmall an errour, ſeeing Chriſts Spirit, *Rom.* 14. 1, &c. commanded both Paſtors and People to *receive him that is weak in the faith, but not to doubtful diſputations*; and to live in Love and Union with thoſe that have greater weakneſſes than this.

XXVII. 25. It may be Schiſmatical to caſt men out of the Church for that which yet may be Schiſmatical in the perſon ſo ejected: If he depart from the Church though Schiſmatically only in ſome accident, circumſtance, or ſome one act or thing of no neceſſity to communion or ſalvation; we think he may not be excommunicated, *e.g.* for not paying Fees at the Chancellours Court, or ſuch like. For as God departeth not from ſinners firſt, or further than they depart from him; ſo we humbly conceive the Church ſhould imitate him; remembring how Chriſt that came not to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them, rebuked the Sons of Thunder that would have had him deſtroy thoſe that refuſed to receive him, telling them, *That they knew not what manner of ſpirit they were of.*

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On the other ſide, it may be Schiſm to ſeparate from a Church that hath ſome Schiſmatical Principles, Practices, and Perſons, if thoſe be not ſuch or ſo great as to neceſſitate our departure from them: For alas, it is too few Churches that are ſo happy as to have nothing, and do nothing which is Schiſmatical.

XXVIII. 26. Gathering *New Churches* by way of *Separation* from *others*, or gathering *Aſſemblies* without the conſent of the *lawful Paſtors*, who had the charge of the People of thoſe Aſſemblies, is a ſin and Schiſm in all theſe Caſes following.

1. In general, when the Laws, Practices, or Perſons of the Church which they ſeparate from, give them *no ſufficient cauſe* of a departure.

2. In general, when in the judgment of true reaſon, according to the notable evidence of the caſe, the ſaid Aſſemblies are like *to do more hurt than good.*

3. When ſuch Aſſemblies are gathered in *oppoſition* to *ſome Truth* which theSeparaters would thereby diſown (*e. g.* Infant-Baptiſm, the lawfulneſs of Set-forms of Praiſe or Prayer, or any ſound Doctrine;) or for the profeſſion and propagation of ſome *Hereſie* or *Error* (as Antinomianiſm, Popery, &c.)

4. When ſuch Churches are gathered by men that have no true *Fitneſs* and *Calling* for the Sacred Miniſtry, or the work which they undertake.

5. When they are gathered by the pride of the Miniſters, that would thereby unduly ſet up themſelves, and draw away Diſciples after them; or by their covetouſneſs, ſeeking not the good of the

the Flock, but the Fleece; not *them*, but *theirs*; not ſerving the Lord Jeſus, but their own Bellies: Or when gathered, by the *Pride* of the *People*, that unjuſtly think thoſe that they ſeparate from, men unworthy of their Communion, and ſay to them, *Come not near to us, we are holier than you, Iſa.* 65. 5.

6. When they are gathered by a quarrelſom Paſſion, falling out with the Paſtors and People whom they ſeparate from. The parting of *Paul* and *Barnabas* had ſome evil in it.

7. When they are gathered to encourage and ſtrengthen a ſinful Faction or Party, or when men ſeparate from others for fear of being cenſured by ſuch a party, as *Peter* did withdraw from the Gentile Chriſtians, leſt he ſhould diſpleaſe the erroneous Iewes Gal. 2.

8. When it is done out of a proud overvaluing of mens own opinions, or ſome odd ſingularity, whereby men cannot bear thoſe that are not of their mind, or whereby they would fain be be more conſpicuous as more Orthodox and wiſe than others.

9. When it is done miſtakingly to ſet up ſome wrong courſe of Church-Government or worſhip (As that the *People* may have *the Power of the Keyes*, or of *examining and judging* all *admitted members*, or that *Papal Government* or the *maſs* may be introduced *enthuſiaſtical* diſorderly *talking* by pretended inſpiration, by ignorant uncalled men, or to introduce ſuch *traditions* and *ſuperſtitions*, as the Papiſts uſe, &c.)

10. When it is done upon a falſe conceit that a mans preſence with any Church that hath known errour or faults in doctrines or worſhip,

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is a guilty approving of them, and therefore that they muſt ſeparate from all ſuch.

11. When they ſeparate out of an *unruline ſs* of ſpirit, becauſe they will not be governed by their lawful Paſtors in lawful things, as time, place, order, &c. or becauſe a *Minor* part in elections is overvoted by the major part, and cannot have their wills.

12. When they ſeparate out of a prophaneneſs of mind, not enduring the power of the Preachers doctrine, or the holineſs and diſcipline of the Church, but would be licentious, while they would be called Religious. All theſe are unlawful ſeparations, and aſſemblings.

Yet that which is unlawful as to the *Principle, End* and *Manner, ſecundum quid*, is not alwaies unlawful *ſimply*, and in the *thing it ſelf*, for a proud, covetous turbulent perſon may ſinfully do a Lawful thing.

XXIX. 27. When Paſtors by concord, or Magiſtrates by Laws have ſetled Lawful *Circumſtances* or *Accidents* of Church *Order* or *Worſhip*, or *Diſcipline*, though they be in *particular* but humane Inſtitutions, it is Sinful diſobedience to violate them without neceſſary reaſon, *e. g.* Parochial Order, Aſſociations, Times, Places, Miniſters, Maintenance, Scripture-Tranſlations, &c.

XXX. 28. When able faithful Paſtors are lawfully ſet over the Aſſemblies, by *juſt Election* and *Ordination*, if any will cauſeleſly, and without right ſilence them, and command the people to deſert them, and to take others for their Paſtors in their ſtead, of whom they have no ſuch knowledge as may encourage them to ſuch a

change, we cannot defend this from the charge of Schiſm, which puts a Congregation on ſo hard a means of Concord, as to judge whether they are bound to that Paſtor that was ſet over them as Chriſt appointed, or muſt renounce him and take the other when they are Commanded. So *Cyprian* in the caſe of *Novatian* ſayes that he could be no Biſhop becauſe another was right-full Biſhop before.

XXXI. 29. In *England* it belongeth 1. to the *Patron* to *preſent*, 2. to the Biſhop to *ordain* and *inſtitute* and therefore to *approve and inveſt* 3. to the *people jure divino* to be *free Conſenters*, 4. and to the *Magiſtrate* to *protect* and to *judge* who ſhall be *protected* or *tolerated* under him: If now theſe four parties be for four Miniſters or for three, or two ſeveral men, and cannot agree in one, the culpable diſſenters will be the cauſes of the Schiſm.

XXXII. 30. If a Church have more Presbyters than one, and will be for one way of worſhip, diſcipline or doctrine and another for another, (as at *Frankford*, Dr. Cox. Mr. *Horn* and others were for the Liturgie, and others againſt it) ſo that the people cannot poſſibly accord, it is the culpable party, which ever it be, that muſt anſwer for the Schiſm. So much of enumerated Schiſms.

XXXIII. On the Negative, we ſuppoſe that none of theſe following are Schiſms in a culpable ſenſe.

1. All are agreed that it is no Schiſm for the Chriſtian Church to ſeparate from the ancient

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Jewiſh, or from the Infidel Heathen World.

XXXIV. 2. All Proteſtants are agreed that it is no Schiſm to deny obedience to the *Roman* Pope; nor to deny that communion with them, which they will not have *without obedience*: To ſeparate from *other Churches*, is to deny them *meer Communion*; But to ſeparate from the *Roman* as *Papal*, is but to deny them *ſubjection*: To deny any other Chriſtian Church to be a *true Church* is Schiſmatical, if they have the Eſſentials of a Church: But to deny the *Papal Church* or *Monarchy* to be a *true Church* of Chriſt's inſtitution, is true, juſt and neceſſary, though they be *Chriſtians*; becauſe we mean only the *Papal Church form*, as it is an *Univerſal Eccleſiaſtical Monarchy* of the whole Chriſtian world, which no other Church but that doth claim.

XXXV. 3. It is no Schiſm to deny *Subjection* to Pope, Councils or Patriarchs, of other Kingdoms, or to any forein Power by what names or titles ſoever called.

XXXVI. 4. It is no Schiſm to deny that Chriſt hath any ſuch Viſible Church on Earth as is one by Union with any Univerſal Head, Perſonal or Collective, beſides himſelf.

XXXVII. 5. It is no Schiſm to Preach, and gather Churches, and elect and ordain Paſtors and Aſſemble for God's Worſhip, againſt the Laws and will of Heathen, *Nahometan*, or Infidel Princes that forbid it. For thus did the Chriſtians for 300 years. And if there be the *ſame cauſe and need*, it is no more Schiſm to do it againſt the Laws and will of a *Chriſtian* Prince. Becauſe, 1. Chriſt's Laws are equally obligatory;

2. Souls equally precious. 3. The Goſpel and Gods worſhip equally neceſſary, 4. And *his Chriſtianity* enableth him not to do *more hurt* than a Pagan may do, but *more good*. If therefore either out of Ungodly enmity to his own profeſſion, or for fear of diſpleaſing his wicked or Infidel Subjects, he ſhould forbid Chriſtian Churches, he is not to be therein obeyed.

XXXVIII. 6. If a Prince, Heathen, Infidel or Chriſtian, forbid Gods Commanded worſhip, and any Commanded part of the Paſtors office, (as in Papiſts Kingdoms Prayer in a known tongue, and the Cup in the Lords Supper is forbidden, and as they ſay, all preaching ſave the reading of Liturgies and Homilies is forbidden in *Moſcovie*, and as the uſe of the Keyes is elſewhere forbidden;) It is no *Schiſm* to diſobey ſuch Laws, (what Prudence may *pro hic & nunc* require of any ſingle perſon we now determine not.)

XXXIX. 7. If any Prince would turn his *Kingdom*, or a whole *Province*, *Dioceſs* or *County* into *One only Church* and thereby overthrow all the *firſt order of Churches of Chriſts inſtitution*, which are *aſſociated for Perſonal preſent Communion*, allowing them no Paſtors that have the power of the Keyes, and all eſſential to their office; though he ſhould allow Parochial *Oratories* or *Chappels*, which ſhould be no true Churches, but *Parts* of a Church, It were no Schiſm to gather Churches within ſuch a Church againſt the Laws of ſuch a Prince. Many write that there is but One Biſhop in *Abaſſia* (though ſome ſay that others have Epiſcopal power under

under him:) ſome that read the old Canons, which confine Biſhops to Cities, and take not the word as then it was taken, for any great Town or Corporation, but for ſuch priviledged Towns only as are called Cities in *England*, hence gather that as the King may disfranchiſe Cities and reduce them to ten, two or one in a Kingdom, he may by conſequence do ſo by Churches that have Biſhops; which if it be ſpoken but of *Epiſcopi Epiſcoporum* we reſiſt not; But if of *Epiſcopi Gregis* of the firſt Order of Churches called [Particular] we ſuppoſe that out of ſuch a Kingdom-Church *Provincial* or *Dioceſan-Church*, it is no *Schiſm* to gather particular *Parochial* Churches though forbidden. And the ſame reaſon will prove that if in a leſſer circuit, the ſame things be done though in a lower degree, *viz.* were it but three, four or ten particular Churches of the largeſt ſize capable of *Perſonal Communions* turned into one which is capable only of diſtant Communion *per alios* it is lawful to gather particular Churches out of that larger ſort of Church. If the Biſhop of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Ceſarea*, *Heraclea*, *Carthage*, &c. ſhould have put down the Biſhops of ten, twenty, an hundred or many hundred Churches about them, and ſet up only Oratories and Catechiſts in their ſtead making them all but part of their own Churches, it would have been lawful to have gathered Churches in their Churches: For God never made them proper *Judges* whether Chriſt ſhould have Churches according to his laws, nor whether God ſhould be worſhipped, and ſouls be ſaved, or his own inſtitutions of Churches be obſerved.

XL. 8. If Biſhops would ordain Presbyters by *limiting words*, reſtraining them from any *Eſſential* or *Integral Part* of the Office or Power as inſtituted by Chriſt, and yet profeſs that they ordain them to the Office which Chriſt hath inſtituted, it is no Schiſm for thoſe Presbyters afterward to *claim* (and execute in ſeaſon) all the power which by Chriſt's inſtitution belongeth to their Office, though againſt the Biſhops Wills. Becauſe the Biſhops are not the *Authors* or *Donors* of the *Office Power*, but only the Miniſterial Deliverers and Inveſters; And therefore it is Chriſt and not they, that muſt deſcribe it.

XLI. 9. No Prince or Prelate hath power from Chriſt to ſet over, or impoſe upon any Church or Chriſtian people, any perſon as a Paſtor who through Ignorance, Hereſie, Malignant oppoſition to piety, or utter defect of Miniſterial ability, is uncapable of the Office or unfit to be truſted by the people with the Paſtoral care and conduct of their ſoules. Nor is it Schiſm in them to refuſe to commit their ſoules to ſuch, nor to chuſe and uſe better; when they may do it, without greater hurt to others than their gain will compenſate.

XLII. 10. Princes or other Magiſtrates are not appointed by God to be the *ordinary Electers* and *Impoſers* of Paſtors on *all the Churches*; and the people bound to conſent to whomſoever they elect. But Chriſt hath given the *Biſhops* the power of free *ordaining*, and the people the power of *free conſenting*, and made Magiſtrates the *Governours of them* that have this power. Even as he hath not given power to Princes

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to chuſe Wives or Husbands, Servants or Maſters, Tutors or Pupils, Phyſicians or Patients, for all their Subjects, but hath antecedently given ſuch Subjects power to chuſe for themſelves, and to Princes to be civil Rulers of ſuch as have this Choice, by which Governing Power they may regulate their Choice in ſubordination to Chriſts Univerſal Laws, and may puniſh them for groſs miſdoing: Therefore it is no Schiſm for Paſtors to ordain, or People to chuſe the Overſeers of their ſouls, without or againſt a Magiſtrates will or command as ſuch (ſubmitting to his Government.)

XLIII. 11. When faithful Paſtors truly ordained and elected, or conſented to, are in poſſeſſion, if a lawful Magiſtrate caſt them out (not only of the Temples and Tithes, but alſo of their *Paſtoral Relation* and *Overſight*, and put others in their places of untried and ſuſpected parts and fidelity; 1. The Princes impoſition maketh not ſuch the *true Paſtors* of that *Church before and without* the *Peoples conſent*: 2. Nor will it alwaies bind the People to conſent, and to forſake their former Paſtors, nor prove them Schiſmaticks becauſe they do it not.

For 1. God in Nature and Scripture hath given them that conſenting power antecedent to the Princes determination, which none can take from them. As he hath in nature given men the Choice (or Conſent at leaſt) with what Phyſician they will truſt their lives: God hath not put all ſick mens lives ſo far in the Princes power as to bind them to truſt and uſe whomſoever he ſhall chuſe: For men are neareſt to themſelves, and their lives are at their own wills in the firſt in-

ſtance, before they are at anothers: And mens ſouls and everlaſting happineſs are precioufer to them than their lives, and it is firſt under God their own wills by which they ſhall live or die; though all their friends ſhould do their beſt to make them willing of what is beſt.

2. They are ſuppoſed related duely to their tryed Paſtors, in the bond of fidelity, which they may not unneceſſarily violate.

3. Otherwiſe one *Roman* Emperor might have undone all the Churches and Souls in the Empire in a great degree; by impoſing on them inſufficient, heretical, or malignant Paſtors: Where it muſt be noted, 1. That God doth ordinarily work on ſouls according to the quality of the means: To ſay that *He can do otherwiſe*, is impertinent, while we ſee that he *doth not*, nor hath *promiſed it*. We ſee that Heathens and Infidels are not converted without Preachers; We ſee that Heretical Preachers make Hereticks, and Schiſmatical ones make Schiſmaticks, and ignorant ones leave the people ignorant: In ſeveral Countries the people are Greeks, Papiſts, Lutherans, &c. as they are taught. We ſee that one clear, convincing, experienced, ſerious Preacher, turneth more ſouls among us from ignorance, errour, fleſhly luſt, and worldly wicked hearts and lives, than abundance of raw young Readers or Preachers, that ignorantly ſay over a dry prepared ſpeech in a School-boys mode and tone. It is not every Preacher of whom it can be ſaid as Dr. *Ames* doth of old Mr. *Midſley*, a Nonconformiſt of *Lancaſhire*, *That he was the means of converting many thouſand ſouls*, (from *Popery*, *Ignorance*, and a *wicked life*: Nor whoſe labours

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are bleſt, as Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *John Rogers*, Mr. *Thomas Hookers* (Nonconformiſts) or Mr. *William Fenners* (a Conformiſt) and ſuch others were. Even as we ſee by experience that a few skilful, prudent, experienced Phyſicians cure more than abundance of young beginners, who too oft kill more than they cure. We ſee that the *Abaſſian*, *Armenian*, *Greek*, and moſt Popiſh Countries, are lamentably ignorant (and uſually proportionably vicious) for want of a learned, pious, skilful, and laborious Miniſtery. Hiſtory tells us, that the Kingdom of *Nubia* forſook Chriſtianity for want of competent Teachers: The induſtry of the Jeſuits and Friars in *China*, *Japan*, *Congo*, and other Countries, telleth us how much they laid on the diligent uſe of means. *Joſ. Acoſta* tells us how much the *West-Indies* ſuffer in Religion by the ignorance and wickedneſs of the Prieſts. How barbarous and ſad a ſtate the Empire of *Moſcovy* is in, for want of able, faithful Paſtors, while the Emperours put down Preaching, and confine them to Liturgies and Homilies, as is affirmed commonly without contradiction. How miſerable a ſtate the *Roman* Church, yea, the Papacy was in, in the ninth and tenth Ages, even *Baronius*, *Genebrard*, and the greateſt flatterers of the Pope lament; and this for want of able, faithful Paſtors and Teachers among them.

2. No man hath his power to deſtruction, but to edification. The *bonum Publicum* is the end of Government: Therefore it is not Schiſm in Subjects, not to caſt their ſouls on notorious peril of damnation, in obedience to any mortal man.

3. Every man, (eſpecially experienced Chriſtians)

ſtians) have more ſenſe and knowledge of what is profitable and congruous to them, than ſtanders by have, how learned ſoever: As ignorance maketh a *few, ſhort, plain, oft repeated words*, in a *familiar* ſtyle, more profitable to low-bred perſons, than an accurate learned Diſcourſe would be; ſo mens ſeveral tempers and vices maketh that matter and manner of Preaching profitable to them, which to others ſeemeth otherwiſe: And as a nice Lady muſt not tie her family of labouring perſons, to the matter and meaſure of her diet, nor revile them as gluttons or fools if they like it not; no more muſt learned men confine plain people to wordy Orations, (whether Learned or Pedantick) and ſay, This is beſt for them: Much leſs muſt they ſilence cauſleſly ſuch Teachers as truly profit them, or tie them to Homilies or Liturgies only, and ſay, *Here is as much as is neceſſary to ſalvation*: Nor is it any Schiſm in the people, if they refuſe to be ſo confined by them, and denied ſuch helps to their ſalvation as God hath ſent them, and made their due.

4. *Order* is an excellent means of edification, and of preſerving *Truth, Charity* and *Peace*: But it is but a *Means* to the *Ends* of the things *Ordered*, and the publick good: Therefore if *Order* ſhould be made the advantage of *Hereſie, Church-Tyranny or Iniquity*, and be turned againſt the good of Church and Souls, (as it is in the Policy of the *Roman* Church, and in well ordered Armies of Rebels, or ſuch as have unlawful wars) this would make it no Schiſm or ſin to break ſuch order. Theſe notices interpoſed, we add, 4. That it hath been the Judgement of the moſt

moſt honoured Ages of the Church, that it is no Schiſm in the forementioned Caſes, to cleave to the faithful Paſtors that were duly ordained and conſented to, and to refuſe ſubjection to ſuch as lawful Princes have impoſed in their ſteads.

1. That even in the Jewiſh State the Kings had not the Election of all the Prieſts and Levites (much leſs the Prophets) is before proved; though they had the Government of them according to God's Laws.

2. That the Apoſtles ſent by Chriſt performed their Office againſt the will of the *Roman* and *Jewiſh* Rulers, is not denied.

3. And becauſe ſome think that this was proper only to Apoſtles or men ſent immediately by Chriſt, we add, that it is not denied that this was the caſe of others in that Age: As *Timothy*, (who is charged before God and Angels to Preach in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, 2 *Tim.* 4. 1, 2.) *Titus*, *Apollo*, *Silas*, and ſuch others; and of all the ſetled Elders of the Churches, *Act.* 14. *v.* 23. *Tit.* 1. 5. 2 *Theſ.* 5. 12, 13. *Heb.* 13. 17, *&c.*

4. And it is not denied that this was the caſe of all the ordinary Paſtors for the firſt three hundred years, under the unbelieving Emperors. And as is aforeſaid, even theſe were Governours of the Chriſtian Paſtors and Churches (who are commanded *Rom.* 13. to obey them.) and they wanted not Governing power, though in part they wanted *aptitude to uſe it well*; ſo that Chriſtians were to obey even Heathen Governours in lawful things.

5. And it is undeniable that this was the judgment and caſe of the Fathers and People of the Church under the Chriſtian Emperours that were

were *Arrians*, or favoured the *Arrians*: And as is aforesaid, the *Arrians* would have subscribed to all the *Nicene* Creed, (that Christ is *Light of Light, God of God, very God of very God, begotten, not made*, till they came to that one word ὁμοούσιος. Yea, *Eusebius* subscribed to that also, and to the whole, who yet (notwithstanding *Socrates*'s charitable excuse) is by his own Epistle from that Council to his People, plainly proved to be an *Arrian*, as *Petavius* hath fully manifested: And yet how the Churches of the East did commonly cleave to their Pastors when *Constantius* and *Valens* ejected them; and how they resolutely refused the imposed Bishops, some as *Arrians*, and some but as suspected, saying, *We have lawful Bishops already*, and how stifly they refused to forbear their forbidden Meetings, and Publick Worship with their former Pastors, Church-history puts us out of doubt.

Athanasius oft staved with his flock till banished by violence by *Constantine*, *Constantius* and *Valens*:

Eustathius Bishop of *Antioch* did the like yea came to the Imperial City *Constantinople*, and there lived in secret to confirm the People, and presumed to ordain a Patriarch of that City chosen against the Emperours will: For when *Eudoxius* was dead, the orthodox people chose *Evagrius*, a man of their own judgement, and refused *Demophilus*, *Socr. l.* 4. *c.* 13. Both the consecrator and the consecrated Bishop stayed with them till the Emperour sent souldiers from *Nicomedia* to master the people, and banished them both into several Countries, and at once put fourscore Priests to death (burning them in a ship

ſhip at Sea,) to whom the people adhered, who came to petition him for juſtice and forbearance. Saith *Socr. cap.* 14. When the Empe- "rour at *Edeſſa* gave the *Lieutenant a blow with* "*his fiſt becauſe he had not ſcattered the Conven-* "*ticles, as he had charged him, the Lieutenant,* "*for all this great diſgrace, ſet himſelf, though* "*unwillingly to obey the Emperours wrath and* "*diſpleaſure; but gave notice ſecretly of it to the* "*people (for it was far from his mind to fall a* "*murthering ſo many godly Citizens,) that none* "*ſhould ſhew his face in the Temple, that none* "*ſhould be found raiſing of any Conventicle: But not* "*one made account of his advice, nor regarded his* "*threats, for the day following all flocked in great* "*companies to the Temple.* Then followeth the mention of a woman that with her little Child haſtned through the crowd to the meeting hoping to die with the reſt. The citizens of *Cyzicum* baniſhed *Eunomius* from their City, whom *Eudoxius* had preferred to that Biſhoprick, not ſo much for his *Errours* as for his *arrogant* and *inſolent manner* of Preaching, with Logical tricks and ſophiſms which they could not bear, and ſo they drove him to *Conſtantinople* where he layd by his Biſhops Office *Id. c.* 7.

And when *Eleuſius* repenting of his ſin in a forced ſubſcribing to the *Ariminum* faith would have had them have choſen another Biſhop, they would have or acknowledg no other but him; being the undoubted Chuſers of their own Biſhop *Ib. c.* 7.

The City of *Antioch* fell into two parties of the *Orthodox*, beſides the *Arrians*, and choſe two Biſhops *Paulinus* and *Meletius*; Though it was then

then contrary to the Canons that one City ſhould have two Biſhops, none queſtioned the peoples right to chuſe, nor denied either of them to be *true Biſhops*: And though the Emperour forbore *Paulinus* for his rare parts and virtues, and baniſhed only *Meletius*, the people would not obey his Orders, but ſtill aſſembled as before.

We are not ignorant what tumults popular Elections of Biſhops have oft cauſed: But two things all acquainted with antiquity know which much ſerve to counterballance this objection: 1. That where Emperours and Synods of Biſhops have made themſelves the Electors, the tumults or confuſions, or at leaſt the conſequent evills were not leſs but greater: 2. And when they did thus aſſume the Election (which was for the moſt part but in a few great ſeats and not of ordinary Biſhops) ſtill they ſuppoſe a neceſſity of the peoples conſent. When the Emperour choſe the Patriarchs, what one Emperour did another undid: And the peoples diſſent undid it ſooner: and the Ruling Biſhops ſo oft diſagreed, that their ſynods and Churches were lamentably militant. By the favour of the Emperour, *Dioſcorus* was the ſtrongeſt at *Epheſus* having the Souldiers and Rulers on his ſide, and by them the Major Vote of the Biſhops: But it was more *Theodoſius* and his Officers that carryed it than equity; even to the condemning of *Euſebius* and ſuch others, and the beating of *Flavianus* the Patriarch of *Conſt.* unto death: And when by the Emperour and prevailing Biſhops will, new Biſhops were placed (*Anatolius* at *Conſt.* *Maximus* at *Antioch*, *Nonus* at *Edeſſa*, *Athanaſius* for *Savinian* &c,) ſaith *Liberatus* in *Breviario*

Breviario cap. 12 *ſchiſma factum eſt inter eos quale antea nunquam contigerat. Ægypti, Thraces & Paleſtini Epiſcopi Dioſcorum ſequebantur, Orientales, Ponticis & Aſiani Sanctæ Memoriæ Flavianum: Quod Schiſma Permanſit uſque ad obitum Theodoſii Principis.* But when *Martian* was made Emperour, all was undon again: that went for Hereſie, which before went for the right belief, *Dioſcorus* was baniſhed, *Proterius* was choſen; and how choſen: ſaith *Liberatus c.* 14. *ut cum omnium civium voluntate eligerint ordinandum Epiſcopum, ſacris ob hoc literis præcedentibus, ad Theodorum tunc Auguſtalem collecti ſunt ergo Nobiles Civitatis, ut eum qui eſſet vitæ & ſermone Pontificatu dignus, eligerint: Hoc enim & Imperialibus ſanctionibus jubebatur, N. B.* Yet all this quieted not the people becauſe *Dioſcirus* was ſtill by the moſt taken for their true Biſhop; ſo that *Proterius* was fain to live under the guard of Souldiers among them: *Timothy Ælurus*, and *Peter Moggus* keeping ſeparate Congregations, would not communicate with *Proterius*; and no ſooner did they hear of *Martians* death, but the people in tumult murdered *Proterius* in the Church, mangled him, caſt out, and burnt his carcaſs, and ſcattered his aſhes in the wind, and made *Timothy Ælurus* their Biſhop: And thenceforward *Alexandria* had two Biſhops: And both ſides petitioning the new Emperour *Leo* to be for them, he commanded (upon examination) his General to caſt out *Timothy, & alium decreto populi qui Synodum Calced. vindicaret, inthronizare*, This *Stila* the Captain performeth, and another *Timothy Salophaciolus* is choſen: But when after *Leo's* death

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Baſiliſcus uſurped the Empire againſt *Zeno*, this *Timothy* is caſt out again, and the other reſtored, and other Biſhops changed accordingly in oppoſition to the Council of *Calcedon*. And no ſooner was *Zeno* reſtored, but all was returned back again, and *Æluru* poiſoned himſelf to eſcape worſe: Yet did his Party make *Peter Moggus* their Biſhop; and the Emperour commanded *Anthimius* to caſt him out, and ſet up *Timothy Saloph.* again; But while the Emperours choſe who ſhould have the Publick Authority and Temples, they left the people to joyn in the choice, and the Diſſenters kept up their own Biſhops and Schiſm. And thus the matter went on uncured: And very ordinarily it was the *Pulcheria*'s, *Theodora*'s, *Eudoxia*'s, and ſuch other women, the Empreſſes, that by Hiſtorians are ſaid to diſpoſe of theſe matters, and make ſuch Patriarchs and Biſhops: And theſe courſes ſtill increaſed Schiſms: Of the *Joannites* at *Conſtantinople* we ſpake before. What a calamitous Schiſm was that at *Alexandria* between the Party that held Chriſt's body incorruptible, called by the other the *Phantaſiaſtæ*, and thoſe that held it corruptible called the *corrupticolæ*, one part taking *Gaianus* for the Biſhop, and the other *Theodoſius*; and the ſecular power, ſetting up one, the Soldiers and the city fought it out. abundance on both ſides being ſlain, and yet the Soldiers had the worſt, and *Theophilus* was forced away.

In *Juſtinians* time when *Paulus* an Orthodox man was made Patriarch, he could not hold his ſeat without ſuch plots, as occaſioned *Rhodo* the *Auguſtalis* to murder *Pſoius* the Deacon, which

which coſt *Rhodo* and *Arſenius* their lives, and *Paulus* his contemptuous depoſition, by the Emperours juſtice. Should we but run over the hiſtory of other great Churches, eſpecially *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, *Antioch*, *Epheſus*, *Ceſarea*, alas how ſadly would it ſhew that neither Emperours nor ſynods aſſuming the power did end ſuch Schiſmes, but increaſe them, where the Biſhopricks were ſo great as to ſeem a very deſirable prey: But where they were ſmall and poor, there was far greater peace and quietneſs, though the people commonly had their choice, and every where their conſent was judged neceſſary; the proofs of which might fill a Volume. See in *Synodo Romano quarto ſub Symmacho* (*in Binnio Vol.* 2. *p.* 288.) *&c.* the claim of *Odoacer* that no Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould be made without the conſent of the King of *Italy*; And the Biſhops ſpeeches againſt it. Even in the daies of *Gregor.* 1. *Rom.* You may ſee how things went, by the conſtant tradition of the Church; *Epiſt.* 22. (*in Bin. Vol.* 2. *p.* 759. *recitat*) [*natalem Salonitanæ Eccleſiæ fratrem & coepiſcopum noſtrum obiiſſe diſcurrens in partibus iſtis fama vulgavit: Quod ſi verum eſt experientia tua omni inſtantia omnique ſolicitudine* CLERUM & POPULUM *ejuſdem Civitatis admonere feſtinet, quatenus uno conſenſu ad ordinandum ſibi debeant eligere Sacerdotem; factoque in perſonam quæ fuerit electa decreto, ad nos tranſmittere ſtudebis, ut cum noſtro conſenſu ſicut priſcis fuit temporibus ordinetur. Illud præ omnibus tibi curæ ſit ut in hac electione nec datio quibuſque modis interveniat præmiorum, nec quarumlibet perſonarum patrocinia convaleſcant; nam ſi quo-*

rundam patrocinio fuerit quiſquam Electus, Voluntatibus eorum cum fuerit ordinatus obedire, reverentia exigente compellitur---Talem ergo te admonente perſonam debent eligere, quæ nullius incongruæ voluntati deſerviat, ſed vita & moribus decorata, tanto ordine digna valeat inveniri. And at the Council *Pariſ.* 3. in the daies of Pope *John* 3. and K. *Childebert*, when Kings were forbidden to make Biſhops, it was ordained *Can.* 8. that [*Nullus civibus invitis ordinetur Epiſcopus; niſi quem Populi & Clericorum electio pleniſſima conſenſerit voluntate, non principis imperio.* And the Biſhops are forbidden to receive him into their number, who is made by Kings.

At the Council of *Calcedon*, *Act.* 12. it was determined, that neither of the two Biſhops of *Epheſus*, *Baſſianus*, or *Stephanus*, could be Biſhops, becauſe not duly elected, but a third to be choſen. See alſo for the peoples unanimous Election of their Biſhop *Greg.* 1. *Epiſt.* 65. *in Bin. Vol.* 2. *p.* 890.

We need not bid the Learned enquire whether *Gregory Nazanz. Baſil*, *Ambroſe*, *Martin*, *Damaſus*, (and ſo of the reſt) ordinarily were Biſhops without the conſent of the people over whom they were placed: And though ſometimes the peoples choice have (many hundred years only after Chriſts time, but not in the Primitive Church) been reſtrained, ſo was not their conſenting voice denied.

I have tranſlated and adjoyned the Epiſtle of *Cyprian* and an *Africane* Council with him (where were then the beſt ordered Churches in the World; as farr as I can learn) in which they counſel the Churches of *Baſilides* and *Martial*

to

to forſake them becauſe they were Libellatiks in perſecution, proving from Scripture that *uncapable perſons cannot* be *Paſtors*, and that ſuch ſcandalous ſinners and bad men were uncapable perſons (*forma non recipitur in materiam indiſpoſitam*;) charging it upon their conſciences as from Gods word; ſhewing them that els they will be Guilty of their ſins becauſe the chief power is in the people both of chuſing the worthy, and forſaking the unworthy. And yet theſe two Biſhops lived beyond the Seas in another Country, and the Biſhops of their own Country and the Biſhop of *Rome* had dealt more gently with them, and adjudged Communion to them. And the *Africans* pretended to no authority over them, but by Counſell told them of Gods own Law, which no man had power to invalidate. They charge the people as heinous ſinners if they forſake not a wicked unmeet Biſhop or Paſtor. what Libellaticks were I ſuppoſed the reader to know (*viz.* ſuch as to ſave their lives in perſecution, had permitted another to put their names by ſubſcription to a falſe profeſſion that favoured idolatry or infidelity.)

Obj. 1. *But Cyprian and the African Councils were miſtaken in the point of Rebaptizing thoſe baptized by Hereticks; and ſo they might be here.)*

Anſ. 1. The Council of *Nice* decreed the rebaptizing of thoſe that were baptized by ſome Hereticks, though not by all: And if the *Africans* did not confine the word to ſuch, they erred only in not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing of Hereticks. 2. If we are excuſed from receiving the teſtimony of ſuch Fathers and Councils as had any Errour, or as great an Errour as that,

you may see what will follow. 3. We do not cite *Cyprian* and the *African* Council as infallible, nor as having more Governing power over us than the present Rulers, but as being *to us* (I say *to us*) of more credit and authority in telling us what is *jure divino* than those Bishops or others that now condemn us as Schismaticks.

4. *Cyprian* and the *African* Councill were not forbidden for this judgment of theirs to Preach Christs Gospel, nor cast out of the Churches, nor sent to Goals, nor called and used as Rogues and Schismaticks, and farr worse then drunkards, adulterers, yea or the atheists and infidels among us. (Nor were the people that obeyed their Councill so used.) But the names of these holy men are venerable to this day.

Obj. 2. *There were then no Christian Magistrates, and therefore the peoples power must be used in their stead.*

Anſ. Church power was the same before and after. The Lawes of Christ concerning it altered not. The Pastors were then the Guides of the people by divine right: And the power of the Keyes was no less forcible or effectual as used by the Bishops and Presbyters, than when the power of the sword was added to them (if not much more.) And the peoples power of chooſing and refusing Bishops continued many hundred years after Magistrates were Christians, confirmed even by Popes and Councills.

Obj. 3. *This would cast all into confusion, and there would be no Church Government, if the people be Judges when a Minister is bad, and then may pull him down or forsake him, and chooſe another.*

Answ.

Anſw. This is after further anſwered. I now only ſay 1. The people may not touch his Perſon, by violence, nor deprive him of his benefice or temple, nor yet degrade him: As they that change their Phyſician or Lawyer do no ſuch thing, but ſimply chooſe one that they can truſt. No man will win more by my ſalvation than I ſhall, nor would ſuffer more than I by it if I were damned: Who is more than I concerned what becometh of my ſoul? Am I not to have more care of it than of my eſtate or health of body? Who can eaſily believe thoſe men that ſend us to goales and ruin us for truſting our ſoules with ſuch Guides as to the beſt of our underſtandings we think meeteſt, or at leaſt for avoiding ſuch as we cannot ſo farr truſt, and then tell us that they do it becauſe they love our ſouls better than we love our ſelves, and therefore will not truſt them to our choice. 2. what confuſion doth it cauſe that every man now chooſeth his owne Tutor in philoſophy, his own maſter, his own Lawyer and phyſician, and every woman at age her own husband.

3. Doth not the Church of *England* (as is ſaid) allow every man his choice, when no man is forbidden to forſake any Biſhop or Paſtor and chooſe another by removing his habitation when he pleaſes? So that all this is but about Pariſh bounds, which is confeſſed to be of humane alterable conſtitution. And how ordinarily do many Gentlemen of the Church of *England* go from their own Pariſhes in *London*? 4. You may ſee by *Philip Nyes* printed papers, and Mr. *Tombs* his, that even thoſe called Independents

and ſome Anabaptiſts are for hearing ſuch Pariſh-Teachers as their Rulers ſhall appoint, ſo they may but commit the Paſtoral care of their ſouls to ſuch as they can better truſt, and have Sacraments and ſpecial Church Communion free.

5. what great confuſion doth it breed in *London* that the French and Dutch Churches thus differ from the reſt, and have their proper modes and Government? Yea or that the Nonconformiſts by the favour of his Majeſties Licenſes had their choice and ſeveral meetings. Let not envy and animoſity feign greater confuſion than there is, and the matter will appear much otherwiſe than it is repreſented, even that the diſcords and confuſions were incomparably leſs (on that occaſion) than they were under the Biſhops in the better times of the Churches, even from *An.* 400 to 600, of which more in due place.

6. They that will condemn all that hath inconveniences, ſhall condemn all things in this world: But the Greateſt muſt be noted and avoided firſt. Shall the people have any judgment of diſcerning or not? If yea, the bounds of it muſt be ſhewed, and not the thing denyed as if it muſt bring in all confuſion. If Uſurpers claim the Crown, the Subjects muſt judge which is their true King, and muſt defend his right. Will you ſay, If the people be Judges, they may ſet up Uſurpers, and put down the King? They are but diſcerners of that which is before their duty. They have no right to erre, nor to alter the Law or right: But if it be otherwiſe, they are to be ruled as brutes: And ſo muſt not judge ſo much as whom they muſt obey. Is there any

Chriſtian

Chriſtian that dare ſay, that Biſhops or Princes are in all things to be obeyed, leſt the people be made Judges? And ſo that under Heathen, Mahometan, Papiſt, Heretical Rulers, they muſt be all of their Religion, as to the external profeſſing and practiſing part? None dare for ſhame ſay ſo, ſave an Infidel. Is not this a greater confuſion or michief than that which is now diſputed againſt: Therefore the bounds muſt be ſet on both ſides, which are not difficult to diſcern: As the people have property in their limbs, children and liberties, and acquiſitions antecedently to humane Government, which is to order theſe, and not to deſtroy them; ſo have all men greater intereſt in the ſafety of their own ſouls, which no man can take from them; no nor is it in their juſt power to put it into the hands of others from themſelves. If Hereticks, blind guides, or faithleſs men, or inſufficient, be made Paſtors of the Flocks, and all men commanded to hear no better, nor truſt the Paſtoral Conduct of their ſouls into any wiſer or ſafer hands, Satan will be more gratified by it, than by the diſorder of the peoples chuſing their own ſpiritual Councillors, Tutors and Phyſicians. And when Church-communion is due to none but voluntary accepters, men ſhould not be uſed ſo as to take it ſtill againſt their wills, and to be as it were *crammed* and drencht with ſacred Myſteries, & driven to take them againſt their conſciences and wills from ſuch as they think they cannot communicate with, without being guilty of their ſin: When ſome Councils have owned Pope *Nicholas*'s decree, that no man ought to hear the Maſs from a fornicating Prieſt; much

leſs from men that are far more liable to exceptions.

To this I may add, that as in divers caſes the Canons and Decrees forbad hearing ſome Prieſts, and allowed ſeveral Churches in the ſame ground, ſo they ſeem to give that Paſtor a right to the Conduct of the People, who was the chief Converter of them from Infidelity or Hereſie: And hence was the Popes Controverſie with the *Greeks* about the *Bulgarians*, and his claim to the Church of *England*, and many others, becauſe he ſaid his Miſſionaries converted them. I ſhall ſpecially note here, that the old Canons ſent by *Adrian* to *Carolus Mag.* recited by *Caniſius* and *Binius*, ſay, [" *That no one muſt pray with Here-* " *ticks or Schiſmaticks*] and ſo not with Papiſt- " Biſhops that are the greateſt Schiſmaticks by " dividing Impoſitions [*That if a Biſhop ſix* " *months after admonition of other Biſhops neglect* " *to make Catholicks of the people* (multitudes " then being Heathens and Hereticks) *belonging* " *to his ſeat, any other ſhall obtain them that ſhall* " *deliver them from their Hereſie.*] Yet the Biſhop is not depoſed, but another Biſhop and Church of the new Converts ſet up in his Precincts, and ſo a Church gathered in the Precincts of another Church and Biſhop. And ſo *Gregory Nazianzen* did long preach as their Paſtor in a ſmall Church in *Conſtantinople*, before he had poſſeſſion of the Cathedral; the people claiming him for their profiting by his teaching; and *Theodoſius* gave him the Cathedral as merited by his ſucceſs. And in the ſaid old Canons, c. 19. its ſaid, that *Dioeceſes* (which then were every Corporation and the Suburbs or Villages) " *which*

" *want*

" *want Biſhops receive none without the conſent of* " *the Biſhop who hitherto held them* (ſo be it) *not* " *proudly: For if he over-hold them, affecting to* " *ſit over the people, and deſpiſing his fellow-* " *Biſhops, he is not only to be driven from the re-* " *tained Dioceſe, but alſo from his own Church.* And *ex Con. Sard.* 2. " [*A Biſhop that by ambi-* " *tion changeth his ſeat* (which was then for-" bidden by the Canons) *ſhal not have* (ſo much as) " *Lay-communion,* (no not) *at the end* (his death.)

Even old *Clemens Romanus, ad Corinth.* tells them that they ought not to caſt out theſe Miniſters that live unblameably, having been Conſtituted by the Apoſtles or *deinceps ab aliis viris celebribus, Cum Conſenſu Univerſæ Eccleſiæ.*

But I find the Roman and Tyrannical ſpirit much inſiſting uppon this, that the Chriſtian Religion was but in the ſhell or Embryo in the Apoſtles dayes; and under Chriſtian Emperours is grown up to the maturity of Papacie, riches, pomp, and grandeur, and that great power which the Chriſtian Emperours gave the Patriarchs and prelates of their times. But this Hypotheſis muſt be better proved before we can receive it: We confeſs that for extent and number the Church was there in its minority: But if it was ſo as to infallibility of doctrine & perfection of Laws, and exemplary lives, then the Pope is better than Chriſt and his Apoſtles and their contemptible Decretals and firebrand Councills are better than the ſacred ſcriptures, and their degenerate Clergie and people better than the ancient holy peaceable Chriſtians, & their blood-ſhedders better than the Martyrs, and the Croſs-makers better than the Croſs-bearers; which

are

are things that the worldly ſort may believe more eaſily than mortified and heavenly Chriſtians.

One teſtimony more we will add for the antiquity, and the eſtimation of many that are againſt us. And that is the Apoſtolicall conſtitutions, *Lib*, 8. *cap.* 4. *de ordinationibus*, (having ſaid before *cap.* 2. that *Epiſcopus ignorantia aut malo animo oppletus, Epiſcopus non eſt. ſed falſus Epiſcopus, non a Deo ſed ab hominibus promotus,*) they here ſay that a Biſhop muſt be one that [*a cuncto populo ex optimis quibuſque electus eſt. Quo nominato & placente, populus in unum Congregatus* (not a thouſand Churches but one) *una cum Presbyteris, atque Epiſcopis præſentibus Die Dominico conſentiat. Qui vero inter reliquos princeps Epiſcopus eſt, percontetur Presbyteros & populum an ipſe ſit quem præeſſe petant? & illis annuentibus rurſus percontetur an tribuunt ei omnes teſtimonium quod dignus ſit hoc magno & illuſtri munere præſidendi? An quæ ad pietatem erga Deum pertinent recte peregerit? An jura adverſus homines ſervarit? An domum ſuam réſque domeſticas recte adminiſtraverit, & an vita ei peromnia honeſte & laudate acta fuerit? cum vero Omnes ſimul, non ſecundum opinionem præjudicatam, ſed ſecundum veritatem teſtificati fuerint, talem eſſe eum, tanquam in conſpectu judicis Dei & Chriſti, præſente etiam Spiritu Sancto, atque omnibus ſanctis & adminiſtratoriis ſpiritibus, rurſus tertio interrogent, utrum ſit dignus Miniſterio, ut in ore duorum vel trium ſtet omne verbum: Et cum tertiò annuerint, et dignum eſſe aſſenſi fuerint, petatur ab omnibus ut præbeant ſignum aſſenſus: Et libenter præbentes audiantur*] We urge not this as of Apoſtolicall authority, but

but as of great antiquity, and agreeing with the primitive practiſe. This courſe much differeth from the ordaining of a Biſhop at an hundred miles diſtance from his Church; Yea ordaining him, not in or to a particular Church, but to many hundred Churches when the people neither know him nor are preſent, and yet the queſtion's askt as if they were. And as the people had ever a chuſing or a free conſenting Voice, ſo they oft received Biſhops and Presbyters who were ordained by ſuch as were outcaſts, Nonconformiſts, and baniſhed both by Emperours and Synods; as in many more inſtances might be proved: As alſo that they adhered to the Paſtors ſo choſen, notwithſtanding their ejections by the Imperial Power; yea and by ſuch Councils as they thought to be unjuſt; as the ſad diviſions by the diſplacings, reſtorings, and changes of Biſhops by the Councils of *Conſtantinople*, 1. *Epheſus*, 2. & *Calcedon*, and by the Emperours in thoſe times, do fully prove, the people following ſome one, and ſome another; though fear oft prevailed for conformity with the greater part. (And no wonder when ſo many Biſhops at the Council of *Calcedon* profeſſed that *for fear* they had judged againſt *Flavianus* for *Eutichus* againſt their conſciences, and even old *Oſius*, and many more at *Ariminum* did the like; and when the powers changed, cryed, *Omnes peccavimus*; and when under *Theodoſius* 2d. ſo many went one way, who under *Martian* went another way, even in point of Hereſie.

When *Mavia* the *Saracen* Queen choſe *Moſes* a Monk to be her Biſnop, as the condition of her peace with the *Roman* Empire, *Moſes* would

not

not be ordained by *Lucius*; not becauſe he was an *Arrian*, but becauſe he was a perſecutor, and hurtful to other men for Religion, and ſo he would be ordained Prieſt by ſome that were baniſhed to a certain Mountain, *Socr. l.* 4. *c.* 29. When the Emperour was gone from *Antioch* (where in perſon he went to diſperſe their Meetings, and yet they held on) the people thruſt out *Lucius* whom he had ſet up, and ſet up *Peter* again whom the Emperour had baniſhed. But ſuch inſtances are too many to be recited. Yea under Orthodox Princes, the people would cleave to their injured Paſtors, though againſt the Emperours will, as they of *Miliane* did to *Ambroſe*; and the *Joannites* to *Chryſoſtom*, who even long after his death ſeparated from the Biſhop, and kept up their ſeparate Meetings againſt the will of Prince and Prelates, till milder Biſhops inſtead of perſecuting them, reſtored *Chryſoſtom*'s bones and name to honour, and reconciled them. It will ſtill be objected, as before, that moſt of theſe inſtances were but the peoples rejection of *Arrians*: But again, we anſwer 1. In *other* inſtances, they uſually choſe their Paſtors, and cleaved to them, though prohibited. 2. Theſe *Arrians* were ſuch as ſubſcribed the *Ariminum* Creed, which was ſo ambiguouſly compiled, that abundance that renounced *Arius*, did think that for *obedience* and *peace* they might put a fair ſenſe on the words, and ſo ſubſcribe them: And we meet with perſons in our times, that think, words impoſed on them by Superiours, may and muſt endure *ſtretching* to a ſenſe as far from their uſual acceptation, as the foreſaid words were ſtretched by the

the *Ariminum* Subſcribers. 3. They that never accuſed and convicted the refuſed Biſhops of Arrianiſm, yet adhered to their former Biſhops. 4. It ſeemeth then that the people are leſs Judges (as to the guiding of their own practice) what Biſhops to refuſe as heterodox, and whom to own as Orthodox.

And indeed the ſaying of *Cyprian* is well known, that [*The people have the greateſt power both to chuſe a worthy Prieſt, and to refuſe or forſake the unworthy.*]

6. All Proteſtants believe that it is no Schiſm in *France*, or other Papiſt Countries, to chuſe Paſtors, and meet for the Worſhip of God, though forbidden by the Civil and Eccleſiaſtick Governors of the place.

Obj. *That is becauſe that the Princes are Papiſts.*

Anſ. A Papiſt King is to be obeyed in lawful things: what Proteſtant denieth that?

Obj. *But it is becauſe that the Churches and Worſhip in thoſe Countries is ſuch as it is not lawful to be preſent at.*

Anſ. 1. This Objection granteth, that when the commanded Aſſemblies or Worſhip are ſuch as it is not lawful to be preſent at; 1. The people are diſcerning Judges; 2. And may lawfully meet elſewhere under Paſtors of their own choice.

2. But let the Queſtion be, (not whether we may be preſent in *their Churches*, but) whether we may ſet up *other Churches*, when we are neceſſarily kept from thoſe eſtabliſhed by Publick Power? and it will go far.

7. When the Form of *Worſhip and Concord* called the *Interim*, was by *Charles* the 5th. impoſed on the *German* Proteſtants, (being drawn up

up by *Julius Pflug*, *Sidonius*, and *Iſlebius Agricola*, men pretending to moderation, as not impoſing the Maſs, &c. the Proteſtants judged it lawful to gather Aſſemblies, and keep up Churches contrary to ſuch an Edict of the Emperour: One half of them held on their former way, till baniſhment or other violence hindred them. *Melanctthon* and the others that thought the things commanded not utterly unlawful, conformed only to prevent the utter deſolation of the Churches; but not in conſcionable obedience to the Emperours Edict, as if it had been any Schiſm to do otherwiſe if they could have been endured: As may be ſeen in *Melanctthon's* own words in his Epiſtles, and elſewhere.

8. The moſt of Proteſtants at this day hold, that it is no Schiſm to keep up Churches of their ſeveral Parties, againſt their Princes will and prohibition. Thoſe called Arminians in *Belgia* ſo think. *Epiſcopius* writeth at large, that if Miniſters be forbid to Preach, and People to Aſſemble (in their caſe) they muſt go on, though they ſuffer death for it (ſaving that prudence may direct them ſometime to avoid a preſent ſtorm.) The Churches under the Duke of *Brandenburgh* are generally contrary to his judgment in Religion: And ſhould the Princes of *Saxony*, *Brunſwick*, *Haſſia*, &c. or the Kings of *Sweden*, or *Denmark* turn *Calviniſts*, their Clergy would be far from thinking it their duty to ceaſe their Aſſemblies of the *Lutheran* Profeſſion and Worſhip.

Biſhop *Andrews* is ſo far from tying all Miniſters to the Kings will, that he ſaith [*cohibeat Regem Diaconus, ſi cum indignus ſit idque palam conſtet, accedat tamen ad Sacramentum.*] i. e.

i. e. Let (even) a *Deacon reſtrain the King, if he come to the Sacrament being unworthy, and that be openly manifeſt.*]

" Biſhop *Bilſon* of ſubjection *p.* 399. ſaith, " [The Election *of Biſhops in thoſe daies belonged* " *to the people and not to the Prince: and though* " *Valens by plain force placed Lucius there, yet* " *might the people Lawfully reject him as no Bi-* " *ſhop and cleave to Peter their right Paſtor.*] " Mark that he layeth it not on his *Error*, but on his *entrance* without the *peoples Election*, and that they might reject him as *no Biſhop*. We ſee here the full concurrence of ſuch Engliſh Biſhops as were the moſt Learned and zealous defenders of *Epiſcopacy* and loyalty.

The ſame Biſhop *ibid. p.* 236. Saith more plainly, " [*Princes have no right to call* or *confirm* " *Preachers, but to receive ſuch as be ſent of God* " *and give them Liberty for their Preaching and* " *ſecurity for their perſons: and if Princes refuſe ſo* " *to do, Gods labourers muſt go forward with that* " *which is commanded them from Heaven; Not* " *by diſturbing Princes from their Thrones, nor* " *invading their Realms as your father doth,* " *and defendeth he may do; but by mildly ſubmit-* " *ting themſelves to the powers on Earth and* " *meekly ſuffering for the defence of the truth, what* " *they ſhall inflict.*] This is the ſumm of all that " we here intend. ſo *pag.* 313. he ſaith [we " *grant that they muſt rather hazard their lives* " *than baptize Princes which beleive not,* or " *diſtribute the Lords myſteries to them that* " *repent not, but give willful and open ſignification* " of *impiety, &c.*] *So Beda Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 2. *c.* 5. " Tells us that *Melitus* Biſhop of London (with

" *Juſtus*)

" *Juſtus*) was baniſhed by the heirs of King " *Sabbæreth*, becauſe he would not give them " the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which they " would have had before they were baptized.

Yet all this is no juſtification of cauſeleſs diſobedience to Magiſtrates that circumſtantiate ſacred things according to their Office; nor will it juſtifie any Schiſmatical ſocieties: *Veſpæ habent favos, & Marcionitæ Eccleſias* ſaith *Tertullian*.

XLIV. 12. If any perſons ſhall pretend to have the power of Governing the Churches and Inferior Paſtors as their Biſhops, who are obtruded on thoſe Churches without the *Election* or *conſent* of the *people* or *Inferior Paſtors*, and theſe Biſhops ſhall by Lawes or mandates forbid ſuch Aſſembling, Preaching or Worſhip as otherwiſe would be Lawful and a duty, It is no Schiſm to diſobey ſuch Laws or mandates as ſuch; Nor do ſuch diſobey their Paſtors, they being truly no Biſhops of theirs till they do conſent (however in ſome caſes the advantages of ſome impoſed perſons may make it an act of *Prudence*, and ſo a *duty* to conſent, as is aforeſaid,) It was no Schiſm for the people of *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Ceſarea*, *Conſtantinople &c.* to refuſe Eccleſiaſtical obedience to the ill Biſhops ſet over them by the Emperour to whom they did not conſent; But the Schiſm was theirs who complied with the impoſed Uſurpers. Here it muſt be noted, that Church hiſtory hath conſtrained all that underſtand it to confeſs (both Papiſts, Greeks, and Proteſtants, that the *ordination* of Biſhops and Presbyters was in the power of the Biſhops and the *Election* in the power of the people, not only the

the firſt 300 years under heathen Emperours, but for many hundred years after under Chriſtian Emperours and Princes. 2. That this was taken for their right given them by God. To cite more proofs, for this would expoſe us to the readers cenſure, as unneceſſary tedioufneſs: Many Papiſts largely prove it; As doth *David Blondel* beyond exception, *de jure plebis in regimine Eccleſiaſtico*, with more. 3. That yet we here plead not for the neceſſity of ſo much as the peoples election as it ſignifieth the firſt nomination of the perſon, but only for the neceſſity of *conſent*, either explicitly or implicitly expreſt. If the ſenior Paſtors have the firſt nomination, or if it be the Magiſtrate, or Patrons, as with us, we quarrel not againſt it, if the flock do but *conſent*.

Parents may Chuſe Husbands and Wives for their Children; but they are not *ſuch at* all till *mutual conſent*.

XLV. 13. The *conſent* of a *few of the Church*, is not the conſent of *the Church*; Nor is it Schiſm for the Major part to differ from their choice or determinations (as. ſuch.) In *Government*, *the will of the Sovereign is the publick will*; But in *contracts*, and *conſent* of a *Community*, where *Unity* is the thing intended, and *voting* the means, the Major part is denominatively the ſociety, (unleſs they have made others their truſtees or delegates in Electing, Conſenting themſelves to what they do,) ſuch ſocieties are not denominated from the Minor, or a ſmall part, as contradiſtinct from the reſt. If a Dioceſs have a thouſand, or 600, or 300 Pariſh Paſtors, and a hundred thouſand or a million of people (or 50000 or 20000 as you

will ſuppoſe) and if only a dozen or twenty Presbyters, and a thouſand people (or none) chuſe the Biſhop, this is not the Election or conſent of the Dioceſan Church; Nor is it Schiſm for 20000 to go againſt the votes of 2000.

XLVI. 14. If Biſhops that have no better a foundation of their relative power over that particular flock, ſhall impoſe inferior Paſtors or Presbyters on the Pariſh-Churches, & command the peoples acceptance & obedience, the people are not bound to accept and obey them by any authority that is in that command as ſuch: Nor is it Schiſm to diſobey it, no more than it is treaſon to reject the Uſurper of a Kingdom.

XLVII. 15. whileſt ſuch obtruded Pariſh Paſtors have no conſent of the flock (explicite or implicite) *that Pariſh is no Pariſh Church*, in the proper Political Organized ſenſe, as we now ſpeak of a Church, as conſtituted by the Governing and Governed parts, For that which wanteth an eſſential part, wanteth the Eſſence, And therefore it is no Schiſm to pronounce it *no ſuch Church*, and to deny it the Communion proper to ſuch a Church. Though yet as the word [*Church*] doth ſignifie an ungoverned Seciety *in potentia proxima* to receive Government, they may be improperly called a *Church* as they are in a vacancy.

XLVIII. 16. If they that make a Dioceſs the loweſt proper Church (which hath a Biſhop, and none under him) and a Pariſh to be but a part of the Dioceſan Church, and no proper Church of it ſelf, as having no *Epiſcopus Gregis*, ſhall accuſe thoſe as ſeparating from the Church, who ſeparate not from the Biſhop, and keep to any

Pariſh

Pariſh in the Dioceſs, they contradict themſelves: Though ſuch forſake many Presbyters and Pariſhes.

XLIX. 17. If Princes or Prelates ſhall unjuſtly ſilence or depoſe ſo great a number of faithful Paſtors or Preachers, as ſhall leave people deſtitute of a neceſſary Preaching and Paſtoral help, it is no Schiſm, but a great duty, for ſuch Miniſters to preach, and paſtorally guide ſuch people; otherwiſe by the ſame reaſon, one man might put down Chriſtianity in an Empire at his pleaſure; or diſſolve the Churches.

§ L. If it be ſaid, that *it's true, if he put down all, but not if he ſilence but a minor part.* We anſwer, that the reaſon is the ſame to thoſe to whom the *Miniſtry is neceſſary*, if he put down Miniſters to them. The ſupply of the Churches, *e. g.* in one City of a Kingdom, is no ſupply to the other Cities: And if a Pariſh have 10000, or 30000, or 50000, or 60000 ſouls, its no ſupply to all the reſt if 3000 of theſe have the benefit of a Preacher and Paſtor. The ſame power which may deny a Paſtor to ten parts of a Pariſh, may deny him to the eleventh part, that is, to all. So if competent Paſtors be ſet over *half the Pariſhes in a Kingdom*, and the *other half* hath incompetent men; or if nine parts of a Kingdom were competently ſupplied, and but the tenth part had not ſuch to whom the people may lawfully commit the Paſtoral Care of their ſouls, it is no Schiſm, but a duty for thoſe that are deſtitute, to get the beſt ſupply they can; and it is no Schiſm, but a duty, for faithful Miniſters, though forbidden by ſuperiours, to perform their Office to ſuch people that deſire it.

Their *General Ordination*, with the peoples *Neceſſity* and *Conſent* added to *God's General Commands to all his Miniſters to be faithful and diligent*, are a *ſufficient obliging Call* to ſuch Miniſtration, without the will of (prohibiting) Superiours; yea againſt it.

For 1. Elſe it were at the will of a man whether ſouls ſhall be ſaved or damned, (for how ſhall they believe unleſs they hear? and how ſhall they hear without a Preacher?) and whether Chriſt ſhall have a Church; and God be publickly worſhiped, or not.

2. Our Ordination conſecrateth us to our Office, during life: And it is Sacriledge and Covenant-breaking with God to caſt it off and alienate our ſelves.

3. God hath deſcribed the Office and the Work in his Word, and charged his ſervants to give the children their bread in due ſeaſon, and adjured them before God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing, and his Kingdom, to preach the Word, & be inſtant, in ſeaſon, & out of ſeaſon, &c.

4. The indiſpenſible Law of Nature obligeth every man according to his Place and Calling, his Ability, and his *Opportunities*, to do his beſt to propagate Chriſt's Goſpel, and to ſave mens ſouls, as much and more than to feed mens bodies, and ſave their lives: But our Calling is to do it as Miniſters of Chriſt, thereto devoted. And we did not receive this Calling to be altered, or forborn at the will of man, but to be performed according to the Word of God: Men being not the *Makers of the Office*, nor of God's Law under which we execute it; nor the *Do-*

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nors or *Limiters* of the Power, but only 1. The Electors of the Persons that shall receive it; 2. And the Invesiters of them in it by Ministerial delivery; 3. And the Governours of us in the exercise of it, according to God's Laws, by which they may punish us for male administration, but cannot dissolve the Laws obligation to those that are indeed commanded by it.

LI. Obj. 2. *If there be able Preachers in one part of the Parishes,* and *the other part have such as deliver all that is necessary* to *salvation intelligibly, it is unlawful to Preach against the will of the Prince* or *Prelates* in such a Country.

Ans. We deny this unproved assertion. 1. Indeed it will follow that such persons are justly condemned by God, if they repent not though they had but a Reader. 2. And that they should be thankful for so much, and gladly accept it in such Churches when they can have no better, But not 1. that it is in the power of any man justly to forbid them better, when God provideth it, 2. Nor that they must obey such a prohibition, as such. (Though *prudence* may discern forbearance to be a duty by accident, when the hurt would be greater than the good.) There is no *doctrine objectively* of *absolute necessity* to salvation, but the doctrine of the *Baptismal Covenant* which is expounded in the *Creed, Lords prayer and Decalogue.* But there is much *Doctrinal* and *active Means* necessary to make men *Understand, Believe, Love,* and *Practise,* this necessary Covenant doctrine. And the doctrine or articles of faith, will save none that do not *Understand, Believe, Love, and Practise* it, and that sincerely preferring the things

revealed before all the pleasures, riches and honours of this World. A Parrot shall not be a Saint for saying the Creed.

LII. These following matters of fact are presupposed to the answer of this objection, and in them all sober Protestants are (as we suppose) agreed.

1. That this aforesaid sincerity of *Faith, Repentance, Hope, Love,* and *Obedience, is made by God of necessity to salvation.*

2. That as it will not profit a man to win all the World and lose his soul, so neither will *doctrinal formality*, or *obedience* to superiours that hinder sound Preachers, recompence him for the loss of his soul; And that God would not have mens Government maintained by mens damnation, nor will the ungodly be the best members of Church or Kingdoms: Order is a means to save men, and not damn them, some few Heathens offer to Devils a sacrifice of mans flesh, and blood: But if a man should offer to God (the Lover, Saviour, and Sanctifyer of souls) a Sacrifice of the souls of thousands, and say, *All these are to be kept* in *Ignorance* and *ungodlyness* and *so to be damned,* to *please God who will have them obey their superiours, at that rate*; this were a dishonour to God of unexpressible iniquity and errour. Christ that hath taught men to seek first his Kingdom, and to take up the Cross, and to forsake Father and Mother and Life and all to serve him in the saving of their souls, and had planted inseparably *self love* into our natures, surely did not mean so Contrarily as that we must forsake Christ, Heaven, and Salvation, to obey men.

3. That

3. That certain experience putteth us past doubt, that ignorance, ſenſuality, worldlineſs, profaneneſs are far more common, and a holy heavenly mind and life, and all ſerious Chriſtianity and obedience, far, very far more rare, in thoſe Kingdoms and Pariſhes which have no plain, convincing, ſerious, lively and exemplary Preachers, than in thoſe that have, although they be baptized, and have the Creed, Lords prayer and Decalogue in their Liturgie. And yet here are all things of abſolute objective neceſſity to ſalvation. What a caſe the Moſcovites are in, that have only Liturgies and Homilies read, we mentioned before: And how ſad the caſe is among the Greeks, Armenians, Abaſſins, and moſt Papiſts, for want of better Preachers. Biſhop *Uſher* could ſay of the Iriſh, that more periſhed by not knowing what we are on both ſides agreed in, than by their Popiſh Errours; And what a caſe the Scottiſh Highlanders, too many of the Welſh, and moſt Pariſhes in *England* were in, as to ſerious piety, which had heretofore but Readers, or Preachers that did leſs than read a Homilie, experience conſtraineth us to know: as alſo what difference there is yet to be ſeen as to ſerious faith and godlineſs, between the fruits of a clear, ſerious, holy, diligent Preacher, and of raw youths that ſay over a pedantik lifeleſs ſpeech, and out of the pulpit little differ in ſpeech or life, from Carnal Worldlings or formal Hypocrites. Though we know that all that profeſs to be ſeriouſly Religious, are not ſo, yet none are ſo that do not profeſs it as they have opportunity.

As we are not able to deny this experience

of the different fruits of different Teaching (when all have the Creed;) Nor dare deny the neceſſity of ſerious faith, repentance and holineſs to ſalvation (leſt we renounce the Goſpel,) nor yet that no men (much leſs moſt men or many thouſands) may as an act of obedience to man, refuſe thoſe helps which God provideth them, and without which few Comparatively are truely converted from a Carnal life and ſaved; ſo therefore we dare not think or ſay, that humane Lawes or orders are arguments of ſufficient weight to move them hereunto.

LIII. Obj. 3. *But the hurt of the peoples chuſing Teachers and Aſſemblies without or againſt the Rulers will, is greater than the hurt that cometh by the want of better Teachers.*

Anſ. 1. The peoples choice doth hurt by accident, in thoſe Countries, where the Rulers put down neceſſary helps, and where the people are Erroneous, Heretical, and Unruly, and ſo where the people would chooſe unſufferable men, ſuppoſing ſtill that no Church is conſtituted without mutual conſent of the Paſtor and the flock and that the Rulers alter not or violate not Chriſts Laws by which he hath appointed the ordering of Aſſemblies. Therefore it is the Rulers Office to hinder the people from doing miſchief, without hindering them from their duty and from doing well; To Govern them in their work, and not to forbid it.

2. If the Goſpel be hid (from the mind though not from the Ear) it is hid to them that are loſt 2. *Cor.* 4. 3. And without holineſs none ſhall ſee God *Heb.* 12, 14. Chriſt will come

come in flaming Fire to render vengeance to them that know not God and obey not the Goſpel, 2. *Theſ.* 1. 10. 11. All they ſhall be damned that obey not the truth but have pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs 2. *Theſ.* 2. 11. 12. They that live after the fleſh ſhall die, and they that have not the ſpirit of Chriſt are none of his, *Rom.* 8. 9. 13. It is not then eaſie to think of a greater hurt, than to forbid men ſuch means, without which experience aſſureth us that few comparatively are thus inlightened and renewed to God, and with which more Comparatively are renewed. To ſay that God *can* bleſs to us an ignorant heartleſs, Carnal Teacher, is no anſwer, while experience certifieth us that Comparatively he doth not do it. If the people would chuſe ſuch Paſtors, *Rulers* muſt do their beſt to change their minds, and to provide *better* for them. But thats not the caſe that we are now ſpeaking to. If people would run into Sects and Hereſies, Rulers may *puniſh* and *reſtrain falſe Teachers* that dangerouſly corrupt the Chriſtian doctrine and ſeduce the peoples ſouls; But they may not therefore ſilence the faithful Miniſters of Chriſt, And adhereing to ſuch Miniſters, doth not any hurt of it ſelf: Nor any way tend to the furthering of ſo much hurt, as the contrary would do.

3. For who knoweth where to bound his obedience to ſuch ſilencers as aforeſaid, If a thouſand or two thouſand faithful Miniſters, muſt ceaſe Preaching when ſo forbidden, why not 3000, why not 4000? If half a Kingdom; can you ſatisfie the conſciences of the other half that they muſt not do ſo too, and ſo all Chriſtian

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Kingdoms conform to Moſcovie when the Prince commandeth it. And if 1000 or 2000 or 3000 Pariſhes muſt chooſe the apparent hazard of their ſouls and refuſe ſuch helps as experience certifieth us they greatly need, in obedience to man, why muſt not the reſt of the Pariſhes do ſo alſo? May I give away the needfull helps to my ſalvation, becauſe others have them, as if their ſalvation might ſatisfie me inſtead of my own?

4. We acknowledge it a very great Mercy of God, to have a Chriſtian Prince, and that every Kingdom ſhould be Chriſtian, and that Princes muſt do what they can to accompliſh it; And that they are the Governours of Paſtors as well as of Phyſicians, (as is aforeſaid) and that it is moſt deſireable that the Church and Kingdom ſhould be commenſurate, and none in their Kingdoms reject the Goſpel. and that Paſtor or people who will do any thing contrary to this, or will not further it with all their power are great tranſgreſſours. But yet the old ſaying is true (owned even by the Papiſts, *vid. Pet. De Marca, De Eccl. Conſt.*) that *Eccleſia eſt in impe rio*: And none but profeſſed conſenters are Chriſtians: And the Temple is a priſon and not a Church as men are there forcibly driven againſt their wills, ſo far is it from ſaving the ſouls of any.

Yet conſtraining the *ignorant* and *Heretical* to *hear ſound Teachers*, we are far from oppoſing. But when Paul hath ſaid [*Not a Novice,*] If Rulers will ſilence better Teachers, and ſet up *Novices*, that are unskilful in that great and ſacred work, and never felt that work of *faith, love,*

love, and heavenlyneſs, on their own ſouls which they muſt Preach to others, this will do more hurt, than the peoples choice of better men.

5. Yea if men of ſuch doctrine could once make Princes and people believe, that the people ought to receive only ſuch Paſtors as Princes chooſe for them, it may do more harm than all our ſects do: For ſects cannot caſt out religion at once; Nay uſually they periſh themſelves by their own diviſions and ſhame before they can ruine the Church. But Princes might change Religion as oft as the Moon changeth. And if good Princes were but the tenth part as rare, as they thought that ſaid [*In uno annulo*] &c. what then would become of Religion in the World?

LIV. And though we profeſs our great deteſtation of Church-Schiſms, and our lamentation for the ſad caſe of theſe Nations, and the Chriſtian world, by reaſon of them, believeing that Schiſm ſhould be odious to all Chriſtians; yet we are paſt doubt that aggravating ſome differences and breaches paſſionately by odious names, hath been Schiſmatical, by makeing the diſtance ſeem much greater than it was, and rendering Diſſenters odious to others, and teaching Adverſaries and ignorant perſons, to reproach men as guilty of more Schiſm than they are guilty of indeed. Among the Papiſts, if they unite in the Pope, they paſs not for Schiſmaticks or Hereticks, who differ in all thoſe many and great points, which *H. Fowlis*, *Montaltus*, the Jeſuits Morals, Mr. *Clarkſon*, &c. recite, *viz.* about Murder, Adultery, Fornication, King killing, ſeldom Loving God, &c. And among

among us, a man that doth but ſcruple certain Oaths, Subſcriptions, Covenants, Declarations, or a Ceremony, is charged by ſome with Schiſm.

LV. *The Diſtance of Doctrines or Objective Religion* muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the paſſion and peeviſhneſs, of *ſubjective diſtance* of mens *minds*, *e.g.* Suppoſe *Grammarians* differ about a Criticiſm (whether *Vergilius* or *Virgilius*) be the truer ſpelling; and Philoſophers differ *de vacuo*, *de definitione ſpatii*, *temporis*, *&c.* *de cauſa motus projectorum*, *&c.* and Divines differ of the tranſlation of a Text, of the antiquity of the Hebrew points, of the time of *Eaſter* day, of a Ceremony, or Form of Prayer, of the lawfulneſs of a Lay-Chancellors uſe of the Church-Keys; Would not an impartial ſtranger ſay, How concordant and happy are theſe men, that differ in no greater matters? And if they all fall together by the ears about ſuch things as theſe, it is an aggravated *Subjective Schiſm*, and a ſhame to ſuch wranglers, who deſerve the remedy of ſcolds: But ſure they that peaceably and calmly differ about the aforeſaid things, *viz.* whether we are bound to Love God once a year? whether the Pope may excommunicate and depoſe Kings, that will not extirpate all Proteſtants. Whether an excommunicate King may be murdered as no King, &c? theſe are far more diſtant really in point of Religion, than the other.

LVI. And we muſt lament that we find in Church-Hiſtory, and by too much experience, that there hath been, and is in too many Paſtors, ſuch a ſelfiſhneſs and high eſteem of their own judgments, and ſo little ſenſe of the common weakneſs of mankind, and the lowneſs of our higheſt

higheſt degrees of knowledge, and ſo little Love to others as to themſelves, that by envy and impatience, they raiſe or increaſe Schiſms in the Church, by making a cauſleſs outcry againſt Schiſm, or making little differences ſeem great: They that cannot bear with Perſons and Congregations, who in little matters differ from them, becauſe they prefer ſome other Teacher before them, and ſay ſomewhat againſt their opinions or ways, do condemn themſelves while they cry down Schiſmaticks, and ſeem not to know what manner of ſpirit they are of: *The Wiſdom from above is firſt pure, and then peaceable, and gentle, and eaſie to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and hypocriſie*; and the fruit of righteouſneſs is ſowen in peace by peace-makers: But if there be envying and ſtrife, it is infernal wiſdom, earthly, ſenſual and deviliſh, introducing confuſion, and every evil work, whether it be found in Factions, Contentions, Antichurches and Hereticks, or in thoſe that can bear with no Diſſenters, nor receive them that are weak in the faith, but make things unneceſſary, and their own conceits and wills the meaſure of mens liberties and their cenſures. He that would purſue all as Rebels in a Kingdom, who interpret not every Law alike, would more divide the Kingdom, than all mens different expoſitions now do.

LVII. We do with ſorrow confeſs that the diſcords of the people about chuſing their Biſhops, hath been a great ſcandal to Infidels, and a great diſhonour to the Church, and hath cauſed many lamentable Schiſms, not only under Chriſtian Emperours, but Heathen. But it hath been

been greateſt about the greateſt Prelates, eſpecially the Biſhops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Conſtantinople*, *Antioch*, &c. ſince *Damaſus* got that ſeat by Conqueſt in the Church, a multitude of Schiſms have fallen out even when Princes challenged the choice. A long time two at once, ſometimes three, and once five or ſix Popes living that were and had been Popes. The Schiſm of the Donatiſts was ſo cauſed by Biſhop ſet up againſt Biſhop; ſo was that of the *Joanites* at *Conſtantinople*, and of *Dioſcorus* at *Alexandria*, and many more. But it muſt be noted, 1. That the Electing-Biſhops-Prieſts and Magiſtrates, have occaſioned theſe Schiſms as much, if not far more than the *Electing-people* have done 2. That yet Princes for many hundred years after *Conſtantines* time, did not think it meet to prevent ſuch Schiſms by depriving the People or Presbyters of their Electing-power (much leſs of *Conſent.*) 3. That the Cure muſt not be by altering Chriſt's inſtitution, and the Churches practice continued 600, if not 800 years, and with moſt or many to this day; nor by overthrowing the very Conſtitution of Churches, and the Law of Nature it ſelf; nor by introducing a greater evil; as it would be to teach all people to receive all and only ſuch Paſtors as Princes every where ſhall ſet over them, and all Miniſters of Chriſt to ceaſe their Office when men forbid it them.

LVIII. Obj. 4. *But if Miniſters themſelves muſt be judges, whether a Magiſtrate do juſtly ſilence them, then none will take themſelves to be ſilenced juſtly; and ſo all Heretick will Preach on. It is the Rulers that muſt judge.*

Anſ.

Anſ. 1. when we hear, and read, how the Papiſts deceive the ignorant, by repeating the queſtion, *who muſt be the judge*, it grieveth us to find ſome Proteſtants ſo unskilful in anſwering it, when the anſwer is ſo eaſy, that when opened we hope few ſober Proteſtants differ in it. Judgement is *Publik* or *Private*: Publik Judgement is either Antecedent by a *Lawgiver* judging what ſhall be *commanded* and made the *ſubjects duty*, *or conſequent* by a *Judge ſo ſtrictly* called, Judging of *Titles*, and *Crimes* (in order to puniſhment) according to law; *Private Judgement* is either by *Arbitrators*, or *private Cenſurers*, or by *every mans Conſcience diſcerning* and *judging* what is his duty, and what is ſin.

1. The *Sovereign* of the *World*, is the only Judge, by *Legiſlation* what ſhall be the *duty of all mankind*, by the Law which he maketh to bind high and low, which none may alter or ſuſpend. 2. And he is the only *fountain* of *Power* to his *Creatures*. 3. And he is the only *final*, *abſolute*, *infallible judge*.

2. The Sovereigns of Kingdoms and Common wealths, and maſters in their families, are *judges antecedently* what ſhall be their Subjects duty, by their Laws ſubſervient to Gods: And they and their Officers receiving power from them are the Judges *Conſequently*, by *Deciſion*, who ſhall be puniſhed as *Criminal* and who not, and who ſhall be protected in his propriety or eſtate, by the ſword of Iuſtice.

3. The true Biſhops or Paſtors of the Church, are Guides to the people according to *Chriſts Laws*, in the matters of their Office, and *deciſive Judges*, *who ſhall be taken in*, *or put out of Com-*

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munion, in the reſpective Churches.

4. Every *mans Conſcience* is that *Private diſcerning Judge* of his *own Duty* and *ſin.* (Of *Arbitrators* or *Cenſurers* we need not ſpeak.)

This all of us are agreed in : And the queſtion [*who ſhall Judge*] is ſtill urged by ſome, as if they thought that ſome man or men muſt needs in all caſes (of Religion) be taken for ſuch *Abſolute Judges* that what ever they Judge, all ſubjects muſt obey it. And on this pernicious ſuppoſition is built the Popes pretended Infallibility, becauſe they think that religion is fallible (that is, *Gods Law*) if *the judge* (that is an *ignorant man, or men*) be fallible.

But all Proteſtants (at leaſt) are agreed, that all *men* are *Gods ſubjects*; and that all humane Power of Legiſlation, Judgement and execution is limited; and that no man may judge againſt God or his Laws: And that men ſhould *know* Gods Laws, and juſtifie them and judge by them, and condemn all that is againſt them; But no man hath power to condemn or contradict Gods Law it ſelf. No man hath power to judge that there is no God, no Life to come, no Chriſt, or that one word of God is falſe, or to forbid one thing which God commandeth, or command one thing which God forbiddeth, no man hath power to judge that ſouls ſhall be deprived of ſuch needful Teaching and Sacraments, and publick worſhiping of God, as God hath provided, and commanded them to uſe; Nor to forbid Chriſts faithful Miniſters cauſeleſly to Preach his word, and worſhip him in the Churches, and adminiſter his Sacraments; Nor cauſeleſly to ſilence, or *puniſh* them for ſo doing: Therefore in this caſe

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our conſciences would not be bound though ſtill we profeſs that Gods Law bindeth us not to rebel, or take up arms againſt their injuries, but patiently to bear them, and pray for our perſecutors.

LIX. Obj. *You ſay that Rulers may not cauſeleſly ſilence or puniſh ſuch: But ſtill they are judges whether there be cauſe.*

Anſ. They are ſo: For it is about their proper work. But they are Judges ſubject to God, to whom they ſhall anſwer it if they diſobey him. And the ſubjects are *private diſcerning Judges*, whether the Laws of men contradict Gods Laws ſo far as concerneth their obeying or not obeying them.

We muſt ſtill repeat, that the *eſſe* is before the *ſcire*; and the *Being* of the caſe and *Truth*, before the *judging* of it: either the *Preacher* deſerveth *Silencing* or not, before you come to judge the caſe: If he *ought* to be ſilent the *Rulers* ought to *judge* ſo, and do well: If *not*, but he be *innocent*, or one that ought not to be forbidden his Office, no man hath power from God to judge contrary and cauſeleſly to forbid him; And his conſcience is not formerly bound by that prohibition; Though he muſt ſtill keep his Loyalty and ſubjection, and his care of the publick peace and welfare.

LX. We conclude again, that ſeeing we meet with none that will ſay that Rulers may *judge* that *we ſhall not worſhip God*, or that the *Goſpel ſhall not be preached*, or that *men muſt obediently forſake Chriſt*, or go to Hell; Nor with any Chriſtian that will ſay that *without faith and holineſs we may be ſaved*, we dread the conſe-

quence of ſuch arguing, as taketh this up as the laſt defence, that [*thoſe people* that viſibly live in Senſuality, Drunkenneſs, Fornication, Coveteouſneſs, *Pride, Ungodlyneſs* or *Groſs Ignorance*, are indeed in a ſafe condition for ſalvation, and therefore that Preaching which ſhould bring them to repentance is not neceſſary; But that its ſafer to continue Ignorant and ungodly, than to joyn with the Religious for fear of Schiſm: For we cannot deny that they that have no other Medium to defend their Aſſertion, that [*the liſeleſs unskilful Miniſtry of Novices, which maketh very few ſeriouſly Religious, doth more good than the contrary, which hath contrary ſucceſs, if it be by men forbidden*] do too plainly perſwade us from our Chriſtianity it ſelf, that is, from the chiefeſt evidence of its truth and glory: For if there were no better Chriſtians in the world, than ſuch unholy perſons before deſcribed; and if Chriſt had not a holy peculiar people, of heavenly minds and lives, and zealous of good works, we could never prove (or believe) him to be the Chriſt that came to ſave his people from their ſins. He is not the Phyſician whom we can truſt, that doth not cure men. And if they will reſolve the caſe into the queſtion *of fact, whether ſuch different Miniſters have uſually different ſucceſs?* and *ſerious Chriſtianity* be not much more rare under *Reading Novices*, and *unexperienced liſeleſs men*, than under *skilful ſerious godly Paſtors*, we are unable to doubt of it, againſt all experience.

LXI. Obj. 5. *But if every man that is proud and heretical may ſet up as a Preacher when he will, and when any people will chuſe him, Religion*

gion will be corrupted, and the Church confounded.

Anſw. True; therefore that muſt not be: 1. There are ſome previous qualifications ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the Miniſtry, that without them no man is owned as his Miniſter by Chriſt, nor ſhould be by men. 2. The *Ordainers* are to be Judges whether men have theſe qualifications. 3. The people are diſcerning Judges which *qualified ordained* man (or to be ordained) is *meet for them*; ſo far as it is neceſſary to *their mutual Conſent*. 4. If a Heretick or other intollerable perſon muſt ſet up a Preacher; or if any turn Heretick, the Orthodox Churches are (after due admonition) to renounce him as unacceptable of their communion; that he may be ſhamed and avoided.. 5. If yet he continue obſtinate, and do more harm than good, the Magiſtrate is Ruler, and muſt reſtrain him, and deny him leave ſo to Preach in his Dominions; ſo he do it not by penalties unſuitable to the offence: (Diſ franchiſing, diſcountenancing and ſhame, do uſually more againſt Hereſies than cruelties.) But *Neceſſary Faithful Teachers* may not on theſe pretences be caſt out.

LXII. 18. If the People conſcious of their great Neceſſity of Paſtoral over-ſight and help, and of Chriſt's command to uſe it, do live in a Pariſh or Countrey where they cannot have it from thoſe that the Magiſtrate alloweth, either becauſe they *cannot* perform it for them, or becauſe they *will not*; it is no Schiſm for ſuch to ſeek and uſe it, from worthy though prohibited men.

We before ſpake of the Schiſms of *Teachers*, and now of *Hearers*. In this caſe men may juſt-

ly thus argue: [*Our Neceſſity requireth Paſtoral overſight, and Chriſt commandeth us to uſe it, when we may have it: But from this publick Miniſter we cannot have it: Therefore we muſt ſeek it where we can.* That moſt men have *need* of Paſtoral overſight, is certain; elſe Chriſt would not have inſtituted it for them: And every man ſhould be conſcious of his own need.

That Chriſt hath commanded us the uſe of it is certain; 1. In all thoſe Texts which command the Paſtors their general and particular duties to the People, to Preach and be inſtant in ſeaſon and out, to reprove, rebuke, exhort, to comfort the feeble minded, to viſit the ſick, to convince the erroneous, to adminiſter the Sacraments, to pray and worſhip God publickly with them, &c. 2. In all thoſe Texts that command the People to hear, ſubmit to, obey, and imitate ſuch Guides, and uſe ſuch Ordinances. In ſeveral caſes the People may poſſibly be deprived of this at home, as from the allowed Miniſter: 1. When publick Paſtors are at ſo great a diſtance from them, as that ſuch Paſtors cannot come to them, nor they and their families go ſo far, without ſuch inconvenience and trouble, as will fruſtrate the end of their endeavours: As in *France* where the Proteſtants muſt go twenty miles, or ten, to a Church; which the weak, children and aged cannot do, nor the reſt of the family without ſuch coſt and pains, and loſs of time as will deprive them of the benefit.

Obj. *But yet the Proteſtants there do not ſet up unlicenſed Churches.*

Anſ. That is not as an act of formal *obedience*, as if they took it to be unlawful becauſe prohibited;

bited; but in *prudence*, becauſe the perſecution, ſhould they do it, would fruſtrate their attempt: In ſuch caſes the old Chriſtians met in ſecret.

2. Where Pariſhes are ſo great that the allowed Paſtors *cannot* Preach to *half* or a *fourth* or *tenth* part of the people; and cannot viſit half the ſick, and Baptize, and adminiſter the Lords Supper as is neceſſary; And have no t *time*, if the ignorant, and doubting, and troubled perſons ſhould come to them for Counſel, reſolution or comfort, to ſpeak duely to one of twenty of them. In a Pariſh of 50000 or 30000, or 20000 or 15000 or 10000 ſoules, how few is it that one or two Miniſters can perform all the Offices to, publick and private which the Goſpel requireth Paſtors to perform.

3. Where the allowed Paſtors are ſo ſlothful or proud that they will not condeſcend to theſe Offices, of Perſonal help to many thouſands, eſpecially of the poor.

4. Where they are young raw men, or ignorant of ſuch matters, unable to counſel people as their neceſſities require, in order to their ſalvation; and perhaps to do it tolerably in a publick Sermon.

5. Where they are ſo prophane and malignant, that if poor people come to them with caſes of conſcience, or for counſel what they muſt do to be ſaved, they will but deride them as ſcrupulous and preciſe, and make them believe that to be ſolicitous about ſalvation, and afraid of ſinning, and ſeriouſly godly, is but to be Hypocrites, melancholy or mad; And perhaps bend their Preaching the ſame way.

6. When they are Heretical and not to be truſted in point of faith.

7. And when they are ſo Factious and Schiſmatical, as that their Preaching and Conference tendeth to render other good Chriſtians odious, and ſtir up men to hate, perſecute, or ſeparate from them, and ſo to deſtroy true Love and Concord.

In any of theſe caſes when the people or part of them are deprived of that Paſtoral helps which their neceſſity requireth, and God commandeth, they may ſeek it where they can beſt have it.

LXIII. In all theſe caſes it is an unſatisfactory Anſwer to tell them that *Religion is kept up in the land*, and that *other perſons* or *Pariſhes have what they want*, or that Order and Obedience muſt be preferred to their ſupply, or that God can ſave them without a Paſtor, &c. For ſo *God can ſave* the Heathen world without the Goſpel Preached if he pleaſe: And ſo you might perſwade the Poor to famiſh, rather than againſt Law to beg; becauſe if thouſands of them dye of Famine, yet *other people* are ſupplied, and have plenty: Or you might tell men that they muſt uſe no Phyſician, though *they* dye for it, if they have no tolerable one allowed them by the Magiſtrate, becauſe *others* have Phyſicians though *they* dye for want of them.

What if the Pariſh Prieſt could Baptize but one of many (or not all:) Muſt the reſt be content to be unbaptized? If not, why muſt they be content without all publick Preaching and Worſhipping of God, and the Lords Supper, and perſonal helps of Paſtors which they need? *Paul* thanketh God that he Baptized none of the *Corinthians* ſave ſome few, and ſaith, that *God*

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ſent him not to Baptize, but to Preach the Goſpel: And can any man prove then, That if the Pariſh Miniſter cannot or will not Baptize his Children he muſt get another to do it, yea a prohibited Miniſter rather then they ſhould be unbaptized; and yet that if the Pariſh Church cannot receive him, or the Paſtor cannot or will not do the Office of a Paſtor for him, he muſt be without Preaching, Worſhipping God, and Paſtoral overſight?

LXIV. Yet here we muſt declare 1. That in ſuch neceſſity people muſt *cæteris paribus*, firſt ſeek their ſupply in that way that is moſt for peace, and moſt for publick good, and leaſt ſcandalous or dividing, and that is moſt agreable to the Rulers will and honour.

2. That for ſome ſhort ſeaſon in which his ſoul is not apparently hazarded; as alſo in the tolerable loſs, of ſome meaſures of Paſtoral help, a man muſt ſubmit his own perſonal advantage to publick intereſt. and may hope that God will make it up. As alſo when it tendeth to his probable greater advantage afterward, by putting by ſome preſent ſtorm: But not ſtatedly, to be without Chriſts inſtituted ordinances and helps; *e. g.* Pariſh Order is deſireable and is the Rulers will: If therefore ſupply can be had in a neighbour Pariſh for them that want it in their own, and by an allowed Miniſter rather than a diſallowed, it ſhould be choſen, unleſs the diſparity be ſo great as to weigh down the contrary inconveniences. And if for a time any be conſtrained to another way, they ſhould do it but as an extroardinary neceſſity for the preſent time, till they can be ſupplied in the allowed Parochial way; and avoid as much as poſſibly

they can all waies, though lawful, that encourage true Schisms.

3. And we must profess, that if any Preachers or people, shall out of self conceitedness, pretend *necessity* when there is none, their pretence is no justification of their disorder or disobedience. Magistrates may regulate us in the *Circumstances* of those duties, which the Law of *Nature* or the Gospel do Command: But if on such pretence of regulating *Circumstances*, they will violate or contradict either the Law of *Nature*, or the Gospel, and *destroy the duty* it self, or *its end*, we are not bound in such cases to obey them, but must patiently suffer.

LXV. 19. If the Church Laws do exclude those *Christians* that *have* right, from the *Communion of the Church*, and their Children from *Baptism*, and do decree that they shall be *excommunicate*, and then laid *in Gaols*, it seemeth to us no Schism in those persons, to have no such Communion with that Church which is denyed them by the Laws of the Church; Nor yet to join themselves with another Church that will receive them. And as we say of the *Papists*, that they unjustly call those men *Schismatiks*, whom they first cast out themselves by unjust excommunication, so may we of any others; Especially when either for that which is a duty, or for some small mistake which it is not in the persons power to rectifie, no greater than most good Christians are guilty of, the Church Law saith that he shall be *excommunicate ipso facto*, by which he is cast out antecedently to any sentence, or no place left for his pardon or forbearance by the favour of the Ordinary. He that is so cast

out, is not the wilful Separatist: Nor is he bound to continue without Church Communion, and Pastoral oversight.

LXVI. 20. If those that live in a Parish where the Incumbent by utter Insufficiency, Heresie, Usurpation, Malignity or Wickedness, is such as men may not lawfully own, or commit the Pastoral Conduct and care of their souls to, shall desire the Pastoral care of the next Parish-Minister, and communion in that Parish-Church, and may not be admitted, but all other Parish-Ministers are by *Canon commanded to refuse them, and to turn them home to their own Parish-Priests and Churches*, so that they must either commit their souls to such uncapable persons, and own them as Christ's Ministers, or have none at all, we dare not charge those persons with Schism, if they commit the care of their souls to worthy ordained men, though not allowed but prohibited by the Magistrate: For the reasons before given. Yea if they know that *Church-Laws forbid all other Parish-Priests to receive them*, we see not that they are first bound to *offer themselves* to such as profess obedience to those Laws.

Obj. 1. *But some take a meer Reader for uncapable that cannot preach, or one that cannot pray without Book, or a young man that is not able to resolve doubts, or cases of conscience: but our Canon* 57. saith, *that the Sacraments are equally effectual, whether they be administred by a Preacher or no Preacher.*

Ans. 1. By an *uncapable person* we mean such as is *utterly unable* to peform the *Pastoral duties* which Christ hath commanded, and mens souls greatly need (which among others D

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Hammond in his Annotat. hath well described.) If bare Reading were sufficient Ability, every Boy or Artificer were sufficient that can read. *Bare Reading* will encourage no man to take any one for his *Physician*, or *Lawyer*; and soul-conduct is a matter of greater importance, and needeth as much skill and honesty.

2. It is not the *validity of the Sacrament* that is all that is to be looked at: *Quod factum valet sæpe fieri non debuit*. Men must avoid *sin* as well as *Nullities* in Sacraments: We take it to be a sin to own a man as Christ's Minister who is none, through utter incapacity: Yet we know that Reading is a sort of Preaching, and that all Presbyters, where one Church had many, did not publickly and constantly Preach in the antient Churches: But they were godly men capable of other Ministerial Offices to the People, to pray, counsel and direct them, which must be regarded as well as Sacraments. He that can administer a Sacrament that's valid, may be unfit for men to take for their Pastors or Guides.

3. There is a double work of Sacraments to which they may be called *Effectual*: one is *God's own collation of our Covenant-right to the promised Benefits, viz. Pardon* and *Salvation*: To this we believe that the Sacrament is *effectual* to meet receivers, when it is so delivered as to be no Nullity; and so many heretofore thought that Baptism delivered by a Lay-man is effectual, that is, not Null, but investeth the person in his Covenant Relation; and yet that it is unlawful for a Lay-man to administer it, or others to desire it of him: The other work of the Sacrament is *on the Peoples hearts*, to which the manner

ner of adminiſtring much contributeth, as experience proveth.

Obj. *But Sacraments operate not as Lawyers and Phyſicians do by the ſkill of the Miniſter, but by God's grace and bleſſing.*

Anſ. 1. But God's grace uſeth to work according to the aptitude of means morally, as conſtant experience proveth: And the word which is uſed in the Sacramental adminiſtration, muſt be regarded, and ſo muſt other waies of teaching as well as by Sacraments. 2. And we cannot expect God's bleſſing, in a way of ſin, when we own one for our Paſtor whom we ought not.

Obj. *But ſome take a man to be uncapable if he be but a ſinner worſe than ordinary, as a drunkard, fornicator, ſwearer, perjured, a ſcorner at diligence in Religion, &c. whereas the Miniſter's ſin depriveth not the people of the benefit of God's Ordinances.*

Anſ. 1. He that not knowing the Miniſter to be ſuch a one, or by true neceſſity uſeth ſuch a one, yea or by ignorance thinketh that he ſhould not avoid him, if he be himſelf a true Believer, may have God's Covenant ſealed to him by the Sacrament, which ſuch a one delivereth: Yea, by an Uſurper or meer Lay-man that is in poſſeſſion, and miſtaken for a Miniſter: If a man forge his Orders, or intrude uncalled, or be an obtruded uſurping Biſhop, the people cannot alwaies detect it: Nor do they loſe their right to God's Sacraments, becauſe the man hath (unknown to them) no right to adminiſter them: But if they know ſuch an one, they ſhould not own him as a Miniſter of Chriſt, ſo far as to truſt their

their ſouls with him as their Paſtor, (at leaſt when they may have a better.) And he that ſo withdraweth himſelf from the communion of notorious wicked Paſtors whom he hath no power to caſt out, not ſeparating cauſleſly from others or the Church-ſtate, ſeemeth to us to have all the following reaſons to excuſe him from the guilt of Schiſm.

1. God hath commanded his ſervants to beware of falſe or pretended Prophets, and told us how to know them, by the hurtful fruits of thorns and thiſtles: And *Paul* adviſeth the *Galatians, Coloſſians, &c.* earneſtly to beware of unſound Teachers; and the Churches that had thoſe that taught people to eat things offered to Idols, &c. are threatned: And God commendeth thoſe that tryed falſe Apoſtles, and found them Lyars: Therefore the people in ſuch caſes as thoſe have a trying judgment, in order to their practice. And *Paul* warneth the *Romans* to mark thoſe that cauſe diviſions and *offences* (or ſcandals) and avoid them as not ſerving Jeſus Chriſt but their bellies; and the forenamed crimes are *ſcandals.*

2. God hath commanded men to know, love, and imitate godly Paſtors, *Heb.* 13. 7, 17. 24. 1 *Theſ.* 5. 12, 13. 1 *Tim* 5. 17, &c. And he hath given no man power to ſet ſuch criminals over them as their Paſtors, and ſo far to deprive them of the means of ſalvation as to confine them to them.

3. Though the Apoſtles charge [*with ſuch no not to eat*] enable not private men to exerciſe Governing diſcipline on bad Paſtors, it ſeemeth to us to bind them, when the caſe is notorious, to diſown them.

4. *Cyprians*

4. *Cyprians* concluſion before mentioned is known, inviting the *people* to forſake a bad Paſtor, *Plebs maximam habet poteſtatem* &c. And he convinceth the people that if they forſake not ſuch they are guilty.

5. The Chriſtian Churches have formerly practiſed it.

6. The Law or Canon forbiddeth it to no man in *England*, to deſert men, ſobeit they will but remove their dwelling into another Pariſh. Which is an extrinſick Circumſtance of humane order.

7. Even Pope *Nicolas* in his Decretals, ſaith, that [*Prieſts that commit fornication, cannot have the honour* of *Prieſthood*. Yea [*Let no man hear Maſs of a Prieſt whom he certainly knoweth to have a Concubine or woman introduced*] and we hope we may be herein as clean as *Papiſts*. Yea of Popes he ſaith [*He that by money, or the favour of men*, or *Popular*, or *Military tumults, is intruded into* the *Apoſtolical ſeat, without the Concordant and Canonical Election of the Cardinals, and the following religious Clergie, let him not be taken for a Pope*, or *Apoſtolical*, but *Apoſtatical*] *Caran.* 2. *p.* 393. 395.

8. *Gildas* ſaith of the Britiſh wicked Prieſts, that they were *Traytors* and not *Miniſters* of *Chriſt*, and that he was not *Eximius Chriſtianus*, that would call them *Miniſters*.

9. *Iſidore Peluſiota* in many Epiſtles to *Zoſimus*, and other wicked Prieſts, hath much to the like purpoſe.

10. St. *Martin*, would not come to the ſynods of the Biſhops about him, nor Communicate with them at all, becauſe they were ſome of them

them, rash, bad men, and had instigated *Maximus* to subdue the *Priscillian Gnosticks* by the Sword, and thereby brought Religious people that were strict, into suspicion of *Priscillianism*; but especially he holding that Heresie was not to be so punished: And when to save some mens lives, he yielded to *Maximus* once to Communicate with the Bishops, an Angel in his way corrected him, and his working of Miracles was diminished by it, and he forbore their Communion after to the death. Either this history is true or not: If not, when it is written by his own Disciple and acquaintance, *Sulpitius Severus* and one of the most Godly and Learned of all the ancient Historians, and by others; and when *Martin* is Canonized for one of the greatest Saints upon supposition that the History of his Life and Miracles is true, what Church-history (even that for Bishops) can we then believe? But if it be true, then one of the holiest workers of Miracles since the Apostles, hath assured us, that his separation from communion with these Bishops (though cruel to Hereticks, so gross) was confirmed by vision, and by an Angel from Heaven, and he forbidden their communion for the time to come. We again mention this, as not yet having heard any answer to it.

11. Our own Canons forbid the people to communicate with Ministers for lesser faults (as private Preaching, Sacraments, Fasts, Conventicles, or out of their own Parishes, &c.

12. *Moses* the Monk aforementioned, is commended by Historians, because he would not be ordained by *Lucius*; not because erroneous, but because

becauſe he had perſecuted others by the countenance of *Valens* the Emperour: Though his perſecution extended not to the ſilencing of thouſands, or hundreds, or very many that we read of: And as is aforeſaid, he choſe to be ordained by baniſhed men.

13. Eſpecially if men have no obligation to that inſufficient, heretical, or ungodly Prieſt, but *humane*, becauſe a *Patron* preſented him, or a *Magiſtrate impoſed* him, or becauſe *Pariſh-order* (which is a humane thing of meer convenience) will elſe ſeem violated: When as the avoiding of the *danger* of a *falſe Paſtor*, and the guilt of his ſin, which by owning him may be incurred, and eſcaping the great loſs of a *faithful Paſtor*'s guidance, when we are conſcious that we greatly need it, are things of greater importance, and of Moral and Evangelical Divine obligation: In this caſe we cannot prove it Schiſm to avoid a wicked Prieſt: The Biſhops hold it a duty to avoid a Nonconformiſt that hath not their Licenſe: But ſuch a one as is foredeſcribed, hath not *Chriſt's Licenſe*, and is a Nonconformiſt to his Laws.

Again, let it be noted 1. That even under the Jewiſh Law, Magiſtrates were not the chuſers of the Prieſts, but God choſe them by ſetling the Prieſthood on one line. 2. That Chriſt hath by his Spirit in the Apoſtles altered the Prieſthood, and the way of their calling and entrance under the Goſpel. 3. That the Church neer a thouſand years was in poſſeſſion of that way, and many hundred of thoſe years the poſſeſſion was univerſal in all the Churches. 4. That the chuſing of Biſhops or Prieſts by Magiſtrates or Lay-

Patrons

Patrons was none of that way which Christ appointed. Therefore seeing it is not the *chusing* or *making*, but the *Governing* of Bishops or Priests that is committed to Princes, and *Christ's Law* is the first by which *they must govern*, it seemeth to us that they cannot oblige the Subjects to take up with wicked Pastors, when better are prohibited, and are to be had.

LXVII. 21. In those times and Countries where the allowed Bishops are corrupted by ignorance, heresie, ungodliness or faction, and set themselves to bring in an unconscionable corrupt sort of Ministers into the Churches, and will not ordain fit and conscionable men, or by snares divide the Churches, and cast out the most worthy; and impose sinful conditions on all whom they will ordain, it seemeth to us to be no Schism to seek ordination from other Bishops, and in case of necessity at least, to be ordained by such Presbyters as are either the sole, or chief, or equal Pastors in Parochial Churches, (especially in Cities) and to perform the Office of Presbyters without such Bishops consent. We here suppose such Bishops had themselves been duely elected and ordained, yet 1. They have their power to edification, and not to destruction. 2. We are more obliged to Christ's interest, and the Churches safety, than to them. God will have mercy, rather than Sacrifice, and preferreth mens salvation to ceremony or Church Laws. 3. So the Orthodox forsook the Arrian and other wicked Bishops: Malignity and wickedness is poison in the Clergy as well as Heresie and Schism: So as is aforesaid, *Moses* and *Martin* disowned the bad Bishops that were neer them;

so

ſo the Proteſtants diſowned the Papiſt Biſhops; And *Bugenhagius Pomeranus* a Presbyter reformed and ordained Biſhops in *Denmark*, Biſhop Vſher himſelf told one of us, that being asked by his Sovereign whether he found that ever Presbyters ordained Presbyters? he anſwered, *I can ſhew your Majeſty more, even where Presbyters made Biſhops*, citing the *Alexandrian* cuſtom out of *Jerom* to *Evagrius*. The Judgment of *Engliſh* Biſhops and Divines for the validity of ſuch Ordination by Presbyters, and of the Ordination in the Reformed Churches abroad, ſome of us have proved heretofore at large. 4. Chriſt having made a Law which conferreth the Paſtoral Power on him that is made a due Receiver (as the King's Charter doth the Power of the Lord Mayor on him that is duly choſen to it) it followeth that no more is abſolutely neceſſary to ſuch reception of that Power, but that the perſon be duly qualified, and have *conſent* and *opportunity*, and the beſt inveſtiture which the time and place will afford: Of which *Voetius de deſperata cauſa Papatus*, and one of us in a *Diſpute of Ordination*, have long ago ſaid that which we ſuppoſe will never be well anſwered. 5. And *Grotius de Imperio ſumm. Poteſt. circa Sacra* (an excellent Book) hath ſhewed, that he that is the *ſole Paſtor* of a Church, is in effect a Biſhop. And indeed Dr. *Hammond* (as is ſaid) in his *Diſſer.* and *Annotations* aſſerteth *de facto*, that in Scriptures one Biſhop without any Presbyter under him was ſetled in each Church; ſo that every Paſtor of a particular Church then was a Biſhop (as far as can be proved:) And if that was the Apoſtolical inſtitution that every Church have a

Bishop, and that there was no *sole Pastor* (at least) but Bishops, then he that is ordained the Pastor, (at least sole or chief) of a particular Church is ordained a Bishop: The reason is, because his Office and Power followeth the *Law and Charter of Christ* that made it, and not of the *investing Ministerial Ordainer* if he would alter it, or pronounce it otherwise.

LXVI. 22. Not to obey Lay-Chancellours where they govern the Church by the power of the Keys, decreeing Excommunications and Absolutions, and performing the work of Exploration and Admonition belonging to Bishops in order thereto, we take to be no Schism; nor to refuse subscribing or swearing to such a Government.

LXVII. 23. Not sacrilegiously to desert the sacred Ministry when vowed and consecrated thereto, is no Schism.

LXVIII. 24. Where such sins are made the *Condition* of Ministration by men in power, as that *all the whole Ministry of a Kingdom* are bound in conscience to deny consent and conformity thereto, it is the duty of *all the Ministry in primo instante*, to forbear their Ministerial Office or *none*; for the reason is the same to all: For example; If ten or twenty untrue or unrighteous forbidden things, must be subscribed, declared, covenanted, or sworn, or as many sins practised; yea were it but one, no doubt but the whole Ministry is bound to deny Conformity to any one such thing. Now if *all these* must forbear or lay down their Office, because forbidden by men to exercise it then it is in the power of a Prince to cast out Christianity when he pleaseth,

pleaſeth, and to deny God all Publick Worſhip; and we muſt ask leave of Rulers that Chriſt may be Chriſt, and ſouls may be ſaved; as if the Keys of Heaven and Hell were theirs. None that we write for, Proteſtants or Papiſts, will aſſert this.

But if *All* muſt not lay down their Miniſtry, why muſt a *thouſand* or *two thouſand* do it rather than all the reſt? We ſuppoſe it will be ſaid, that *if a thouſand ſhould refuſe Conformity, all might continue their forbidden Miniſtry; but if two thouſand only of ten thouſand ſhould deny Conformity, theſe two thouſand muſt lay down, becauſe the reſt are a competent ſupply to the Churches.*

Anſw. But theſe be but unproved words. 1. How ſhall we be ſure that other mens ſinning will abſolve the two thouſand innocent from their duty? If in the *firſt Inſtant* it be confeſſedly the equal duty of all, how will the weakneſs and ſin of one part change the obligation of all the reſt? 2. If the Churches be ſomehow ſupplied by mens ſin, will it follow that truth and righteouſneſs in ſounder blameleſs men will not *mend* their ſupply? but muſt be caſt out by others ſin? 3. And where can the wit of man ever ſet bounds to ſuch power of ſinners? It will here be granted us, that if the moſt in *France* conform to Popery, it will not diſoblige all others from the exerciſe of their Miniſtry: And who then can ſay, what thoſe untruths and ſins are which a weak and erring Miniſtry may be guilty of, which ſhall ſerve to diſoblige the reſt? No man here can ſet us any certain meaſure. 4. Would it have an honeſt ſound if it ſhould be ſaid to the people, *The greater part* of the

Miniſters by ſin (yea groſs deliberate ſin unrepented of) have procured the liberty of their Miniſtry; and *they* are *known for you*, and therefore you muſt hear none of thoſe that refuſed ſo to ſin, and are caſt out, *e. g.* ſuppoſe it were the ſubſcribing of the *Covenant against Prelacy* that were made the Condition of our Preaching here by Law: Or ſubſcribing to the *Divine Right* of unordained *Elders* and their power in Presbyterian Claſſes: If moſt of the Miniſters take that Covenant, doth that prove that all the reſt if forbidden to Preach muſt be ſilent? This were an eaſie way to introduce any Errour, by forbidding any but the defenders of it to Preach? If *Julian* might not thus have put down the Goſpel, nor *Valens* have put down the *Homoouſians* (as they called the Orthodox,) nor the Papiſts ſo put down the Proteſtants, why may *Calviniſts* or *Lutherans* ſo put down one another? As if I were bound to be a Miniſter only till other men will ſin!

Obj. *But ſuppoſe that the ſin be on the ſilenced Miniſters part, and the other be in the truth.*

Anſ. 1. Then the ſilenced Miniſters are not guiltleſs of the Schiſm. 2. But if it *be ſo*; if their errour be in a *ſmall* and *difficult* matter, not deſerving ſilencing (as theirs *Rom.* 15. about meats and daies &c) it may be far *greater Schiſm* in the *ſilencers*, then in them.

Obj. *But ſuppoſe it a doubtful caſe, and one party take conſenting to be a ſin, and the other part and the greater take it to be none, If you may preach on becauſe you think that you are in the right, then no Heretick ſhould be ſilenced.*

Anſ. This was anſwered before 1. If men will ſtill

ſtill thus confound the *ſcire* and the *eſſe*, or put the *ſcire* before the *eſſe*, they may go on in errour, and no reaſon can ſilence them. The thing is really firſt *true* or *falſe*, before it is *known* or *thought* ſo to be. If it be *true*, then he that thinketh it falſe is the delinquent. If it *be a ſin*, it is not mens taking it for no ſin, that will make it ſo, nor diſoblige the orthodox from their Miniſtry. But if it *be no ſin* that is Commanded the *Nonconformiſts* are in the fault. And if it be a Hereſie which *they ſtand for*, may be ſilenced.

And yet we will not deny, but if the generality of the Miniſtry obtain their liberty by ſome ſmall tollerable ſin or errour, and the ſounder part be *few and unneceſſary* in that Country, *Prudence* obligeth them to go to ſome other place that needeth them, and never to excerciſe their Miniſtry where in true reaſon it is like to do more hurt than good.

LXIX. 25. Where under any of the foreſaid unjuſt prohibitions the ſilenced Miniſters and people ſhall gather no diſtinct Churches, but only *Auditories* or *Chappels* as *parts* of the *Pariſh Churches*, and that only where there is (through the bigneſs of the Pariſh, or diſtance from the Pariſh Church, or paucity, or inſufficiency, or unfaithfulneſs of Pariſh Prieſts a *true neceſſity*, not *unchurching* or ſeparating from the Pariſh Church, but owning it and holding Communion with it, and promoting the reputation of the true Pariſh Miniſter and Communion, and perſwading others to the like, we cannot ſee that this is any Schiſm; but rather their practiſe who fire and divide mens minds by envious clamours againſt the innocent, and proudly calling others Schiſmaticks.

LXX. 26. We have greatly lamented the true Schismatical disposition of some religiously affected persons, who make their singularities or little differences, the occasions of unchristening, *unchurching* or *degrading* those that are wiser than themselves, and running away from one another on pretence of discipline, and avoiding sin. But yet we hold that gentle forbearing tolerable differences, even in distinct Churches, guilty of Schism, so they be kept from unpeaceable reviling of others, is a meeter way to avoid the mischiefs, than with prison, sword or fire to exasperate them. It is noted that *Nestorius* the Heretick was the first sharp persecutor of the *Novatians*: But most of the better Bishops tolerated them, as did the Emperours: And two prudent gentle Bishops of *Constantinople*, *Atticus* and *Proclus*, reduced the *Joannites*, and lenified other divided Parties, which the fiercer men had made and kept up by their violence.

SECT. VII.

Some Matters of Fact preparatory to the true Application of what is before laid down.

WE must crave that justice of the Reader as to note, that hitherto we have spoken but of the *Doctrinal part* about Schism, not applying it to *England* or any others: Nor shall we now any otherwise apply it, than to lay down some little part of the *Matters of Fact*, which the

the Nonconformiſts are conſidering to help others to apply it without miſtake, as they ſhall ſee cauſe.

We intend not, in this, the determination of the points in matter of right; nor do we here tell men (unleſs on the by in the ſtating of ſome few queſtions,) what it is that we account good or evil, much leſs do we here give the proofs or reaſons of our Cauſe: That is the thing for which we greatly deſire the allowance of our Superiours; But muſt not unneceſſarily preſume to do it, leſt we diſpleaſe them; though we hear that ſome of them take us as not ſincere, for keeping up a difference, and giving no more reaſons of it: The thing which we ſo greatly deſire leave to do, but dare not be ſo bold yet as to venture by it to diſpleaſe them, who condemn us for not doing it, leſt their anger would be ſharper to us if we do it: ſo great is our difficulty between this *Scylla* and *Charybdis*.

But we hope we may adventure to open ſome part of the *Matter of Fact*, which Conformity and Nonconformity are concerned in, that ſo men may *conjecture* at the Caſe themſelves; which will be no reflexion on the Government (barely to tell what they command,) nor a challenging any of our Superiours to a diſputation, nor a charging them as faulty that cannot bear it.

1. *Matters of Fact to be foreknown, to the true underſtanding of the Cauſe.*

1. THE root of the difference between the *Old Nonconformiſts* and the *Conformiſts*, was that one ſort thought they ſhould ſtick to the meer Scripture Rule and ſimplicity, and go far from all additions which were found invented or abuſed by the Papiſts, in Doctrine, Worſhip and Government; and the other ſide thought that they ſhould ſhew more reverence to the cuſtoms of the ancient Church, and retain that which was not forbidden in the Scripture, which was introduced before the ripeneſs of the Papacy, or before the year 600 at leaſt, and which was found lawful in the *Roman* Church, and common to them with the *Greek*, that we might not ſeem ſingular, odd and humorous, or to go further from the Papiſts than reaſon and neceſſity drave us. And the Laity ſeemed no where ſo ſenſible of the difference, as between the way of *Ceremony*, and *unceremonious ſimplicity*, and the way of our many ſhort Liturgick Prayers and Offices, and the way of *free-praying* from the preſent ſenſe and habits of the ſpeaker; while pacificators thought both ſeaſonably good.

2. The ſad eruption of this difference among the Exiles at *Frankford* while Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Horn* and their party, ſtrove for the Engliſh Liturgie, and the other party ſtrove againſt it for the freer way, is at large reported in a book called *the troubles at Frankford.*

3. Queen

31 Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* diſcountenancing and ſuppreſſing the Nonconformiſts, they attempted in *Northamtonſhire* and *Warwickſhire* a little while to have ſet and kept up private Churches and governed them in the Presbyterian way; But that attempt was ſoon broken and fruſtrate by the induſtry of Biſhop *Whitguift* and *Bancroft*: And the Nonconformiſts lived according to their various opportunities: ſome of them conformed: ſome were by connivence permitted in peculiars and ſmall impropriate places, or Chappels that had little maintenance, in the publick Miniſtry, which kept them from gathering ſecret Churches: ſome of them had this liberty a great part of their lives, as Mr. *Hilderſham*, Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *Hering*, Mr. *Paget*, Mr. *Midſley ſenior* and *junior*, Mr. *Langley*, Mr. *Slater*, and Mr. *Aſh* at *Bremicham* Mr. *Tailor*, Mr. *Pateman*, Mr. *Paul Bayne*, Mr. *Fox* of *Tewksbury*, *John Fox*, and many more. Some had this liberty all their lives, as Mr. *Knewſtubs*, Dr. *Chadderton*, Dr. *Reignolds* Dr. *Humphrey*, Mr. *Perkins*, Mr. *John Ball*, Mr. *Barnet*, Mr. *Geerey*, Mr. *Root*, Mr. *Atkins* Mr. *Gilpin*, John *Rogers* and many others: ſome were fain to ſhift up and down by hiding themſelves, and by flight, and theſe preached ſometimes ſecretly in the houſes where they were, and ſometime publickly for a day and away, where they could be admitted: ſo did Mr. *Parker*, Mr. *Braaſhaw*, Mr. *Nicols*, Mr. *Brightman*, Mr. *Brumskil*, Mr. *Humphrey Fen*, Mr. *Sutcliff*, Mr. *Thomas*, and many more; and after their ſilencing Mr *Cotton*, Mr. *Hooker*, and many more that went to *America*, Mr. *Cartwright* was per-

permitted in the Hoſpital at *Warwick*, Mr. *Harvey*, and Mr. *Hind* at *Banbery* in *Cheſhire*, and many more kept in (having ſmall maintenance) being in peculiar or priviledged places: Mr. *Rathband*, Mr. *Angier*, Mr. *Johnſon*, Mr. *Gee*, Mr. *Hancock*, and many others oft ſilenced, had after liberty by fits. Mr. *Bowrne* of *Mancheſter*, Mr. *Broxholm* in *Darbyſhire* Mr. *Cooper* of *Huntingtonſhire* (at *Elton*) and many others ſuffered more, and laboured more privately. Dr. *Ames* was invited to *Franeker*, ſome were further alienated from the *Engliſh* Prelacie, and ſeparated from their Churches, and ſome of them called *Browniſts*, were ſo hot at home, that they were put to death; Mr. *Ainſworth*, *Johnſon*, *Robinſon* and others fled beyond ſeas, and there gathered Churches of thoſe that followed them; and broke by diviſions among themſelves. The old Nonconformiſts being moſt dead, and the later gone moſt to *America*, we cannot learn that in 1640 there were many more *Nonconformiſt* Miniſters in *England*, than there be Counties, if ſo many.

4. The Conformiſts ſhortly fell into diſſenſion among themſelves, eſpecially about three things, *Arminianiſm* (as it was called) and *Conciliation with the Church of Rome, and Prerogative*: Dr. *Heylin* in the Life of ArchBiſhop Laud doth fully open all theſe differences, and tells us that Archbiſhop *Abbot* was the Head of one party, and in point of *Antiarminianiſm* even *Archbiſhop Whitgift* before him, with *Whitaker* and others had made the *Lambeth* Articles, driven the *Arminians* from *Cambridge*: King *James* had diſcountenanced them in *Holland*, and ſent ſix

Divines

Divines to the Synod of *Dort*, who owned and helpt to form thoſe Articles: And he tells us that Biſhop *Laud* had no Biſhops on his ſide but Biſhop *Neale*, Biſhop *Buckeridge*, Biſhop *Corbet*, and Biſhop *Howſon*, and after Biſhop *Mountague*, and thought it not ſafe to truſt his Cauſe to a Convocation; the major part called then *The Church of England*, 1. Cryed down *Arminianiſm* as dangerous Doctrine; 2. Cryed down any neerer *approach to the Papiſts*, and the *Toleration* of them; 3. And were much for the *Law againſt abſoluteneſs* in the *King*; and Dr. *Heylins* and *Ruſhworth's* Collect. will tell you the full ſtory of *Manwaring* & *Sibthorp*, and Archbiſhop *Abbots* refuſing to licenſe *Sibthorp's* Book, and the Conſequents of all. Thus theſe two Parties grew into jealouſies, the Old Church-men accuſing the New on theſe three accounts, and the New ones ſtriving, as Dr. *Heylin* deſcribeth them, to get into power and overturn the Old.

5. In this contention the Parliaments alſo involved themſelves and the *Majority* ſtill clave to the *Majority of the Biſhops and Clergy* (then called *the Church of England*:) And in all or moſt Parliaments cried up, *Religion*, *Law* and *Propriety* and the *Liberty* of *Subjects*, and cried down *Arminianiſm*, *Monopolies*, *Connivence* and *Favouring* of *Papiſts*, and *their increaſe thereby*; expreſſing by *Speeches*, and *Remonſtrances*, their jealouſies in all theſe points, till they were diſſolved.

6. The writings of *Biſhop Jewel*, and much more *Biſhop Bilſon*, and moſt of all Mr. *Richard Hooker*, and ſuch as were of their mind, ſhew us what Principles there, and then were by the

Laity

Laiety that followed them, received. We will not recite their words, leſt our intent be miſunderſtood; neither *Biſhop Bilſons* inſtances in what caſes Kings may be reſiſted by armes Nor Mr. *Hookers* that maketh Legiſlation the natural right of the Body politick, and governing power to be thence derived, to depend upon the Body, and to returne to it by eſcheats, when heirs fail, and that the *King* is *ſingulis Major* and *univerſis Minor*, &c. (His eighth Book was in print long before Biſhop *Gauden* publiſhed it, who yet vindicateth it to be *Hookers* own.)

7. In 1637, 1638, 1639. A. Biſhop *Laud* uſeing more ſeverity againſt diſſenters than had been uſed of late before, and the viſitations more enquiring after *private faſts and meetings* and *going out of mens own Pariſhes to hear*, and ſuch like, and alſo the Book for *ſports on the Lords daies* being neceſſarily to be *read by all* the *Conformable Miniſters* in the Churches, and *Altars*, *Railes and Bowing* towards them being brought in, and in many places *afternoon Sermons* and *Lectures* put down, the minds of men before filled with the aforementioned jealouſies, were made much more jealous than before. And after the impriſonment of ſome, the ſtigmatizing of ſome, and the removall of many beyond the Seas, and the death of more, the Nonconformable Miniſters were reduced to the paucity before mentioned; but the minds of many people were more alienated from the later ſet of Biſhops, and the old ſort of Conformiſts more jealous of them, and more afraid of Popery, &c. than before.

8. The new Liturgy then impoſed on the

Scots,

Scots, with the other changes there attempted, the deſignes charged on the Marq. of *Hamilton*, the fear of the Lords loſing the Tyths, &c. which Dr. *Heylin* mentioneth as the cauſes or occaſions of their arming there, with the progreſs thereof, and their entring into *England*, and the advantage thence taken by ſome Engliſh Lords, to adviſe the King to call a Parliament once and again, and the diſcontents and proceedings of that Parliament againſt the two Miniſters of the King; for former things with ſuch other matters we had rather the reader took from others, than from us. We are unwilling to be the mentioners of any more than concerneth our preſent cauſe, and the things are very commonly known.

9. On the 23. of *October*, 1641. The Iriſh ſuddenly roſe, and murdered no leſs than two hundred thouſand perſons, and *Dublin* narrowly eſcaped them, of which we refer the Reader to the examinations publiſhed by Dr. *Henry Jones*, ſince a Biſhop in *Ireland*, and to the hiſtory of Sir *John Temple*, and to the Earl of *Orery*'s Anſwer to Mr. *Welſh*.

10. The dreadfulneſs of this Maſſacre (ſo far exceeding the French) & the news ſent over that the *Iriſh ſaid that they had the Kings Commiſſion* and the *foregoing jealouſies* of the *people* and the *Parliaments Declarations*, raiſed in multitudes of the people a fear that the Iriſh when they had ended their work there would come over hither and do the like; and that they had partakers in *England* of whom we were in danger, and that there was no way of ſafety but to adhere to the Parliament for their own defence, or elſe it would

would quickly be too late to complain.

11. In 1642. the lamentable Civil Warr brake out: At which time as far as ever we could learn by acquaintance with ſome of them and report of others, excepting an inconſiderable number, the Houſes of Lords and Commons conſiſted of thoſe that had ſtill lived in conformity to the Church of *England* and the Epiſcopal Government and were ſuch Conformiſts as Dr. *Heylin* deſcribeth Archbiſhop *Abbot* and the Clergy and Parliaments of his times to have been, Crying out of the danger of a new partie, that ſaid they would ſhake our *Religion, Liberties* and *Property*. And ſuch were they when the War began, Presbytery being then little known among them.

12. Their fear of being overpowred by the party of whom they ſeemed to think themſelves in ſudden danger, cauſed ſome of them to countenance ſuch Petitionings and clamours of the *Londoners*, Apprentices, and others, as we think diſorders and provocation of the King.

13. The firſt open beginning was about the Militia: And whether the *Lord Lieutenants* whom the Parliament choſe, were not *almoſt all Epiſcopal Conformiſts*, we intreat the Reader but to peruſe the Catalogue in the ordinance for that Militia, and to ask any that well knew them (as ſome of us did many of them) and he may certainly be ſatisfied.

14. The ſame we ſay 1. Of the *far greateſt part* of the General Officers, Collonels, Lieutenant-Collonels, and Majors of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army. 2. And of the Sea-Captains. 3. And of the Major Generals of *Brigades*, and Counties through the Land.

15. When

15. When the Parliament's Armies were worſted and weakened by the King, and they found themſelves in danger of being overcome, they intreated help from the Scots, who taking the advantage of their ſtraits, brought in the Covenant as the Condition of their help; which the Parliament rather accepted than they would loſe them, which at firſt was impoſed on none by force: But (to paſs by all other Conſiderations) was judged by many wiſe men, to be an occaſion of diviſion, as making the oppoſition to *Prelacy*, to be the terms of the Kingdoms Unity and Concord, when they might know that the King and a great, if not the greateſt part of the Kingdom, were of the contrary mind, and ſo it was thought to be (as the Papal terms of Unity) a means of unavoidable diviſion: But others thought that becauſe it tied them to no endeavours, but in their Places and Callings, they might take it.

16. The Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter* were men that had lived in Conformity, except about eight or nine of them, and the Scots: But being ſuch as thought Conformity lawful in caſe of deprivation, but the things impoſed to be a ſnare, which ſhould be removed if it could be lawfully done, they alſo received the Covenant, but were divided about the ſenſe of the word [*Prelacy*,] many profeſſing their Judgment to be for Moderate Epiſcopacy; whereupon the deſcribing additions [*Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons*] were added. And upon ſuch a Profeſſion that it diſclaimed not all Epiſcopacy, Mr. *Coleman* is ſaid to have given the Covenant to the Houſe of Lords. And they complained of the

Parliament which tied them to meddle with nothing but what they offered to them.

17. This Covenant and Vow was taken by the *Parliament*, and by their Garrisons and *Souldiers* that would volunrarily take it, as a test whom they would trust; the rest being had in suspension: And after the wars; by such as were ordained Ministers, and by the Kings adherents when they made their compositions; so far was it afterward imposed. But many Ministers and Gentlemen refused it, and so did *Cromwel*'s Souldiers, and in many Counties few did take it.

18. How far the Parliament was from being Presbyterians, may partly be seen in the Propositions sent from them by the Earl of *Essex* to the King at *Nottingham*, and partly by their defeating all the desires and endeavours of those that would have Presbytery setled through the Land: We know of no places but *London* and *Lancashire* where it was commonly taken up, and some little of it at *Coventry*, and some few such places. And that was only as a tolerated or commended thing, without any imposition that ever we knew of: And accordingly it came to nothing in a short time.

17. Till their new modelling their Army, the Parliament had given out all Commissions to their Souldiers to fight for [*King and Parliament.*] But then the King's name was left out; which seeming to many thousands an utter change of the Cause, from that time many did desert them: And thereupon the Party called Sectaries flowing in to *Cromwel*, and his Army conquering, the power fell into their hands, who imprisoned the King, accused and drove away eleven

eleven Members of the Parliament, and afterward impriſoned and excluded the major part of the remaining Houſe, and with the reſt cut off the King, caſt down the Houſe of Lords, pretended a while to ſet up a Commonwealth (as they called it) impoſed an *Engagement to that Commonwealth as eſtabliſhed without King and Houſe of Lords*; ordered the ſequeſtration of the Miniſters that refuſed it, and of thoſe that kept not their daies of faſting and thankſgiving, for the Scotiſh wars which then they made. After which they caſt out with ſcorn that remnant of the Commons that had joyned with them; and choſe themſelves ſome men called a Parliament, who attempting to put down all Pariſh-Miniſters, Tythes and Univerſities (the firſt put to the Vote, and carried but by a few againſt them) they were broke up by delivering up their Commiſſion to *Oliver*, who was made Protector, and had the honour deſigned of ſaving the Miniſtry, Tythes and Univerſities from the Sectaries; even from that danger into which he had brought them.

20. From the time of theſe *New Cauſes and Changes*, eſpecially the deſtroying the King, violating and caſting out the Parliament men, impoſing the engagement &c. the Miniſters called Presbyterian in *England*, ſome few compliers excepted (many of whom ſince Conform) declared themſelves againſt all this, and were lookt upon as enemies; though kindneſs was offered to reconcile them. Some were impriſoned, many caſt out of their places in the Univerſities, ſome ſequeſtred, and Mr. *Love* and Mr. *Gibbons* (a Gentleman) beheaded, Mr. *Gee* with the

Lancaſhire Miniſters, with ſome of us, wrote againſt theſe proceedings of the then Power: Many Preacht againſt them, ſo that the ſober Religious people of the land grew commonly diſaffected to them: And what the *Scots* did and how they were conquered, we need not here relate.

21. The Miniſters who were then in poſſeſſion of the Pariſh Churches were of many minds about Church Government. 1. Many were for the old Epiſcopacy and Liturgie 2. Many were for a reformed Epiſcopacy: 3. Many were for Presbytery (that is, Church Government by Presbyteries, Claſſes and National aſſemblies, of Teaching and of Governing unordained Elders Conjunct, as *jure divino*) 4. Some were for that which is called Independency. 5. Some thought that no form of Church Government was *jure divino*. 6 But the moſt of our acquaintance were peaceable, moderate men that thought ſeveral parties had ſomewhat of the right, and that the points of difference were ſo few and ſmall, that they might well live in peace and love, and that none of the parties was ſo right as that in all things they ſhould be followed, and others trod down to ſet them up: And many of theſe were young men that, being at the Schools, had not been engaged in the firſt quarrels, and deſired not to ſide with any dividing parties, and modeſtly profeſſed that they had not maturity enough to ſtudy themſelves to any great confidence in the Controverſies.

22. This laſt ſort of men beginning in *Worceſterſhire* ſet on foot a work of reconciling Aſſo-

Aſſociation, in which the Epiſcopal, Presbyterians and Independants, agreed to practiſe ſo much of Church Government and Miniſtration as they were all agreed in, with mutual Love and aſſiſting concord, and to forbear one another in the reſt, till God ſhould bring us neerer. (And after they added another Agreement, to Catechiſe every perſon in their Pariſhes old and young, that would come to them, or receive them thereto; and perſonally to inſtruct and exhort them about the practicals of Religion, and preparation for death and the life to come) This example was preſently followed by the Miniſters in *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Eſſex*, and going on in other Counties, till the confuſions 1659 interrupted it, and the return of the Prelacie ended it and many ſuch endeavours.

23. When *Oliver* was dead, many ſorts of Government were ſet up in one year: Firſt his ſon *Richard* (who having never been in Arms, and being famed to be for the King, many thought he would have been ready, when he could, to reſign the Kingdom to him; and ſpoke him fair on that account, and others becauſe they thought he would quiet the violent, and keep out utter confuſion:) After his ejection the Remnant of the Commons called the Commonwealth was reſtored. After this they were caſt out again, and a Council of State Choſen by the Army; till the Kingdom grew to ſcorn them all, and was weary and aſhamed of the confuſions, and revived their deſigns to reſtore the King.

24. The firſt open attempt of *united endeavours*

againſt the Army, to reſtore the King, was by the *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and *Northwales* men, under Sr. *Georg Booth* (now Lord *De lamere*) and Sir *Tho. Middleton*, who had been commanders for the Parliament; and was broken by the Armies Conquering them. Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Harriſon*, Mr. *Kirby*, Mr. *Seddan*, ſent up Priſoners, and in danger of death, and other Miniſters, who ſince are ſilenced and ruined by thoſe they helpt.

25. But the attempts being renewed, at the ſame time, the diviſion of the Oppoſers (the *Army and the Commonwealth Members*) ſhook them all to pieces, and ruined them, and the new cloſure of the Old Parliamentarians, and the Royaliſts, and the Presbyterians, and other Miniſters with the Epiſcopal, ſtrengthened them, and reſtored the King: The Presbyterian Officers and Souldiers of General *Monk*'s Army concurring with the reſt, and Sir *Thomas Allen* then Lord Mayor (many *London* Miniſters on their part counſelling him thereto) with the Aldermen and others, inviting General *Monk* to joyn with the City herein againſt the Oppoſers; from which very day, the ſcales were turned, and all went on without any conſiderable ſtop, and the old ejected Members of Parliament firſt, and the Council ſetled *pro tempore* after, prepared for His Majeſties return; and Dr. *Gauden*, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Baxter* Preaching at the Faſt of the next Parliament, (as their Printed Sermons ſhew) the King the next morning was voted to return, and to be invited to his Fathers Throne.

26. In preparation for this, ſome Miniſters now ſilenced, had treated with ſome Gentlemen firm to the King, and with Biſhop *Uſher*, Biſhop *Browrig*,

Browrig, Dr. *Hammond*, and others, who all encouraged them (though ſome much more than others) by profeſſing moderate, healing principles and intentions: And in *London*, and ſeveral Counties, the Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen that had ſtill adhered to the King, profeſt and publiſhed their peaceable deſires of Concord, and reſolution againſt revenge; And Letters were written from *France* to divers here, to take off all the unjuſt ſuſpicions that ſome had raiſed about the Kings Religion; all which promoted the Concord that accompliſhed the Change.

27. Thoſe that ſaw the marvelous ſucceſs of this *reconciliation and concord*, and knew that the *Clergies diſtance* was moſt likely, if any thing, to hinder the happy perfection and ſettlement of a full deſired peace, did preſently attempt an agreement among them: And upon the motion of ſome of the ſince ſilenced Miniſters, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the Earl of *Orery* mentioning it to the King, they told us, that it was well pleaſing to His Majeſty: Whereupon His Majeſty vouchſafing them audience, and great encouragement, ſeveral perſons on each ſide were appointed to treat of the neceſſary terms of ſetled Concord and to yield to each other as far as they could, and offer their mutual conceſſions: What was done in this is not now to be mentioned, ſave that part of it was publiſhed by ſome body, which declareth it, and the firſt part being about Church Government and worſhip, iſſued in the publication of His *Majeſties Gracious Declaration about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, by which all our breaches ſeemed at

the preſent to be almoſt healed, and the Houſe of Commons gave His MAJESTY Publick thanks.

28 At this time the Lord Chancellor as a token of His Majeſties Gracious favour and acceptance, offered *Biſhopricks to three* that then treated for Reconciliation, and *Deanries* to *two* or three of them. Of the three firſt, one did the next day ſave one refuſe it, but in a letter to him profeſſing his gratitude, and that he was ſo rejoiced in His Majeſties Gracious Declaration, that if it might but be ſetled by Law, he reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to perſwade all men to conformity on thoſe terms, and therefore would not diſable himſelf thereto by taking a Biſhoprick, and making men think that it was not for juſt concord, but his own intereſt that he wrote or pleaded: Another of them ſoon accepted: The third and the two or three that had Deanries offered them, only ſuſpended till they ſaw whether His Majeſties Declaration would live or dye.

29. what was done in the next attempt upon His Majeſties Commiſſion to *agree on ſuch alterations of the Liturgie as were neceſſary to tender Conſciences, &c.* we are to make no further mention of, then is made by the writings given, in which ſome body ſhortly after (in *part* and with many falſe printings) publiſhed; *An Addition to the Liturgie*, A *Reply to ſome former Papers of the Biſhops*, and an *Earneſt Petition* to them for the *Churches Peace*, which were given in and never anſwered by them (that we know of) ſome one printed. And being in writing required by a Right reverend Biſhop then in the Chair, as from ſuperiours to lay by meer

Incon-

Inconveniences, and to give in thoſe points which we took to be *ſtat ſin*, we gave in *eight particulars* the next day as part; and by that time but one of our arguments about one of them was half handled, and the reſt of the arguments untouched, and the reſt of the Controverted inſtances not medled with, our Commiſſion was expired: And the Biſhops argumentation as Opponents, afterward, on another occaſion printed.

30. Shortly after the convocation of the Clergie ſetled the Liturgie as now it is ſetled: The Kings Declaration dyed: The Parliament made the *Act of Vniformity*, by which many Miniſters for not conforming to that Law were on *Auguſt.* 24. 1662 ejected and ſilenced, on ſevere penalties. About Eighteen hundred of their names from ſeveral Counties were ſhewed Mr. *Calamy* and others; and ſome ſay about 200 were omitted, and that they were in all above 2000.

31. They that had treated for Reconciliation foreſaw what ſad diviſions were like to follow, if we were not healed and united; and therefore in their Petition made a ſolemn Proteſtation that *nothing but the fear of ſin and Gods diſpleaſure ſhould hinder them from Conformity*, deprecating the woful effects of the diviſion, which could not poſſibly be otherwiſe avoided, than by ſome neceſſary abatements of the Impoſitions: and foretelling much that hath ſince come to paſs, which common underſtanding might eaſily ſee in the Cauſes.

32. The perſons that were ſilenced were not of one mind and meaſure about all the things impoſed on them. 1. Some of them were

Epiſcopal, and for as much as *Richard Hooker* writeth for, and were againſt the Covenant (and never took it) and the Parliaments War, and were for the Liturgie and Ceremonies and had Conformed had theſe been all that had been impoſed, who yet were caſt out of Fellowſhips and Miniſtry: Yea ſome had ſuffered for the King, and been ruined in their patrimony, ſome impriſoned for him, and ſome had been in arms for him. 2. Beſides theſe, and other Epiſcopal Nonconformiſts, ſome and very many, and we think the greateſt part of any one, were ſuch diſengaged pacificators as we before mentioned about aſſociations: 3. Some were for the Presbyterian Government, and 4. Some for that called Independent, which were comparatively but few.

Alſo ſome were (as heretofore Dr. *Iohn Reynolds*, Dr. *Humphrey*, Mr. *Perkins*, Mr. *Paul Bayn*, &c. for *ſome part* of Conformity (*Kneeling* and *Liturgie*, and ſome for the *Surplice*) & againſt other parts: Many would have come in to all the old Conformity, had it not been for that one ſentence in the Canon-ſubſcription [*Nothing Contrary to the word of God*] (which kept out Mr. *Chillingworth* himſelf, as is reported, till ſome diſpenſation let him in. But the *New Conformity* was ſuch as ſatisfied them all againſt it. Many purpoſed to have yielded to Prelacy, Liturgie and Ceremonies, and gone to the utmoſt that Conſcience would tolerate, rather than lay by their Miniſtry. But when they ſaw the new Act for *Uniformity*, their deliberations were at an end.

33. Their intereſt, honour or ſomewhat elſe led

led many perſons of thoſe times, when they had made the name of *Presbyterians* odious, to call all the Nonconformiſts that were *Epiſcopal* or neutral, by the name of *Presbyterians*, even thoſe that had declared themſelves againſt the Presbyterian frame, ſo they were not Independents. And they continue that practice to ſerve their ends to this day.

34. The elder ſort of the Nonconformiſts were ordained by Dioceſan Biſhops: The younger ſort were ordained by Aſſemblies of the Pariſh Paſtors of Cities and Countries, no other ordination being then allowed by thoſe in Power.

35. As to the late Civil Wars which ſome moſt lowdly charge on the Nonconformiſts, this is the truth, that the ſeveral parties charge the beginning of that war on one another: One party ſaith that the *Presbyterians* begun it in *England*: Another party lay it on the old Church of *England* men that followed Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and ſuch like: Both theſe accuſed Parties laid the beginning on Archbiſhop *Laud* as an Innovator, and thoſe that followed him: And ſome think that every ſide had too much hand in it, and were to be blamed. The truth is, 1. That more by far of the Nonconformiſts than of the *late ſort* of the Prelatiſts were for the Parliament in thoſe times: 2. That ſome that were Sectaries, and ſome that were hot for the Parliament did conform: 3. That ſome few that had been in the King's Army or Cauſe, and that were ſufferers for him, and were againſt the Covenant and the Parliaments War, were Nonconformiſts: 4. That many more of the *old Epiſcopal Comformiſts*,

miſts, than of the later ſort of them were for the Parliament: 5. That the Archbiſhop of *York (Williams)* who had ſome time been Lord Keeper, was one of the Parliaments Commanders in *North-Wales* (as it is reported without denial.) 6. That moſt Miniſters are dead that were in that War. 7. That the *Weſtminſter* Aſſembly, as is ſaid, came thither almoſt all Conformiſts. 8. That ſo ſmall is the number of the preſent ſilenced Miniſters who had any hand in thoſe Wars, that if no other were ejected and ſilenced but they, the caſe would be judged comparatively very eaſie, and it would be thankfully accepted, as hath oft been told. For moſt were then youths at School, and in the Univerſities, and many lived in the King's quarters and garriſons, and many other never medled with Wars at all; it being now about thirty four, or five years ſince the War began. 9. That all the Wars that have been ſince their oppoſition to the Parliament and violence done to the perſon of the King, were far from being owned by the common ſort of the now Nonconformiſts, as was ſaid. 10. The Doctrine of *Bilſon*, *Hooker*, and ſuch like, containing ſuch Principles as Parliament-men then uſually profeſſed is before mentioned, though not fully recited, and is commonly known; and that the main body of the Parliament, Aſſembly, Army, Commanders, Lord Lieutenants, Major Generals of Bragades, and Sea-Captains, were profeſſed Conformiſts of the Church of *England*. 11. Laſtly, We had hoped that His Majeſties prudence had by the Act of Oblivion long ſince ended this part of the Contention; but we find ſtill *ſome* conformable Miniſters

niſters whom in other reſpects we much eſteem and love, who (as if Truth, Charity, Juſtice and Humanity had been forgotten by them) affirm in print that *All the Nonconformiſts were guilty of the King's Death*; paſſing over what is aforeſaid of the Conformiſts; and others of them crying out to Magiſtrates to execute the Laws on us, by the urged Motive of their late ſequeſtrations and ſufferings: as if they knew not, or would not have others to know, how few Nonconformiſts in Parliament or Militia there were at the beginning of the War in compariſon of the Conformiſts; and how much the ſecond, third and following *Cauſes*, *Parties*, and *Tragedies* in that War, were diſliked by the now Epiſcopal and Presbyterian Nonconformiſts.

36. The people who now adhere to the Nonconformiſts, who were at age before the Wars (whom we that write this were acquainted with) had very hard thoughts of the Biſhops perſons, and ſome of Epiſcopacy it ſelf, becauſe of the foreſaid ſilencing of Miniſters, and ruining of honeſt men, about *Sunday*-ſports, Reading that Book, and other ſuch things, beſides Nonconformity: But when the Miniſters that guided them, began to ſeem more reconciled to the Epiſcopal Party, and upon the reports and promiſes which they had heard, had put them in hope that the next Biſhops would prove more moderate, peaceable and pious, than the former, and would by experience avoid diviſions and perſecution, the ſaid people began to be enclined to more reverent and favourable thoughts of Epiſcopacy and the Biſhops; and were, upon experience of the late confuſions, in a far fairer way

way to union & ſubmiſſion to them than before. But when they ſaw their Teachers taken from them, and ſome ſuch ſet over them againſt their wills, who were better known to them than to the obtruders; and when they heard of about 2000 ſilenced at once, this ſo much alienated them from the Biſhops, that it was never ſince in our power to bring them to ſo much eſteem of them, and reverence to them, as might have been; but multitudes by this were driven further from Conformity than the ſilenced Miniſters.

37. The 2000 ſilenced were not a quarter of the Miniſters of *England*, who were in poſſeſſion before the return of the Biſhops: ſo that it is evident, that above three fourth parts of the Miniſters that kept in under the Parliament and Protector (notwithſtanding Covenant, Directory and all) did prove Conformiſts.

38. The *New-altered* Liturgy was not printed and publiſhed till *Auguſt* 24. or near it, when the Miniſters were to be ſilenced that ſubſcribed not, and conſented not: ſo that we muſt needs ſuppoſe that they were but few Miniſters in *England* in compariſon of the reſt, who *ever ſaw and read* (much leſs *long conſidered*) *that Book before they declared their Aſſent and Conſent to all things in it*. Sure we are, that we that lived in *London*, who had it at the firſt publiſhing, found the time paſt, or ſo ſhort to examine all things in it with due deliberation, that had it been blameleſs, we muſt have been ſilenced, unleſs we had conſented upon an implicit faith.

39. Since we were ſilenced, His Majeſties Declaration for more Liberty in Religion came out 1673. but ſoon died: And ſince then we have been

been called to many attempts for Unity, in which we have twice come to an agreement with thoſe honeſt, peaceable, pious and learned Divines of the Church of *England*, who were appointed to treat of it with us. But that ſignified nothing as to our healing, while Reaſons unknown to us, or ineffable prevailed.

40. Yet ſtill we have been called on to *Tell what we ſtuck at, and what we deſired, and what would ſatisfie us*, (who deſire nothing but leave to exerciſe the Miniſtry to which we were ordained) and the Cant ſtill goeth on among the ignorant at leaſt, as if we had never told them to this day; or as if ſince the new conformity we had ever been called or had leave to tell them, or as if the ſame men would endure us to tell them our caſe of diſſent and the reaſons of it to this day. But the Judg is at the door.

SECT. VIII.

The Matters of Fact, as to what is required of us, by Laws and Canon, to which we muſt conform; And firſt of Lay-men.

I. OF Laymen that will have any Government or Truſt in any City or Corporation, is neceſſarily required the taking of the following *Oath* and *Declaration* by a Law.

"*I Swear that it is not Lawful upon any "pretence whatſoever to take Arms againſt "the King: And that I Abhor that Trayterous "poſition that Arms may be taken by His Autho-"rity againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are*

"*Com-*

"*Commiſſioned by him*] And the Declaration is "[*That there is NO OBLIGATION* "*upon me or ANY OTHER perſon, from* "*the Oath Commonly called the ſolemn League and* "*Covenant.*

1. By this Oath and this Declaration the *Government and Truſt* of all the Cities and Corporations of *England* are conſtituted or qualified.

2. Part of this Vow and Covenant is [*againſt Popery, ſuperſtition,* and *profaneneſs and all that is againſt ſound doctrine* and *Godlyneſs: that we will Repent of our* ſins, unfeignedly, and amend our lives, &c,] which the Nonconformiſts take to be *Lawful* and *Neceſſary* things.

3. Thouſands of people lived in the Kings Garriſons, or Quarters, and thouſands were then unborn or Children, who never took this Vow or Covenant, nor ever heard or read it, or know what is in it.

4. The Parliament that impoſed it on others took it voluntarily themſelves, as did many thouſand more.

5. Many thouſands took it that never ſaw the faces of each other, nor know *in what ſenſe, or with what mind* all others took it: The ſenſe being doubtful, all took it not in one ſenſe: And many thought themſelves not bound to take it in the impoſers ſence, where the words might bear another; And ſo, its like, thought the Royal party of the Nobility and Gentry, who took it at their compoſition.

6. It was a Vow to God, as well as a Covenant with men (as the words ſhew.)

7. The Controverſie is not, 1. Whether it was

was Lawfully Impoſed, 2. Or whether it was Lawfully *Taken*, 3. Or whether it bind as a League, 4. Nor whether it bind to any unlawful thing (which all renounce) But, 5. Whether as a *Vow made to God, it bind to things neceſſary* (as againſt Schiſm, *Profaneneſs*, *Popery*: to *Repent*, &c.) to which men were before bound by other obligations. Nor whether they that took it not be bound by it to repent, &c. but whether no one perſon in the three Kingdoms, who took it, be ſo bound: And that ſince the Scots drew his Majeſty to ſeem to own it (which we judge they did unlawfully.)

II. All Parents who will have their Children baptized, muſt ſubmit them to the ſign of the Croſs, as it is after deſcribed. *And ſo muſt all that are to be baptized at age ſubmit themſelves to it.*

III. All perſons that have Children to be baptized muſt conform as followeth 1. They muſt procure three perſons to be Godfathers and Godmother, who muſt perſonally preſent the Child to be baptized, and muſt promiſe and Vow to God in the Childs name the duties of the Covenant, and muſt in the name of the Child ſay [*that he renounceth the Devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world &c.* and that *he ſtedfaſtly believeth all the articles of faith, that he will be baptized and that he will obediently keep Gods holy will and Commandments, &c.*] Not that *they believe, conſent &c, but that he* (the Child) *doth believe, deſire, &c.* And it is not a meer promiſe for the future [*I will believe and renounce, &c.*] *but a profeſſion for the preſent time* [*I do believe ſtedfaſtly and I do renounce*] And in the Catechiſm it is ſaid that

[*Repen-*

[*Repentance whereby they forſake ſin, and faith whereby they ſtedfaſtly believe &c, are required of perſons to be baptized* (and not only that *have been baptized*) And yet that *Infants that cannot do this are to be baptized, becauſe* [*they promiſe them by their ſureties,*] and it is not ſaid *becauſe they profeſs to do them at preſent by their* ſureties.

2. The Child is baptized upon the undertaking of theſe perſons as ſponſors or Covenanters, whoſe *parts* and *duties* are thus expreſſed, [*To ſee that this Infant be taught ſo ſoon as he ſhall be able to learn, what a ſolemn Vow, promiſe and profeſſion he hath here made by you; and that he may know theſe things the better, ye ſhall call upon him to hear ſermons,* and *chiefly ye ſhall provide that he may learn the Creed, the Lords prayer, and the ten Commandements, in the vulgar tongue, and all other things which a Chriſtian ought to know and believe to his ſouls health*; and *that this Child may be brought up to lead a Godly* and a *Chriſtian life.*]

3. The Conformiſts here are not agreed themſelves, what that ſubjective individual *Faith, renunciation* and *deſire* are which the Infant at preſent PROFESSETH by his ſureties: It is not that the *Infant* doth *actually believe himſelf* for the Catechiſm confeſſeth that he *doth not.* Nor is there any probability that he doth, unleſs by miracle unknown. And if it be any ones *faith* elſe that the Infant then *Profeſſeth* which is *Imputatively his own,* it is not agreed *whoſe faith that is or muſt be*; whether the *Godfathers*, or the *Churches,* and *what* Churches; whether *that Congregations,* or the *Dioceſan Churches*; or the *National*

tional Churches, or the *Universal Church*? or whether it muſt be the *Parents*, *Adopters* or *Owners* of the Child.

4. Though the Godfathers be not by words to promiſe their *Parts*, yet ſtanding purpoſely there as undertakers of it, and hearing the Miniſter expreſly tell them what their *PART* and *DUTY* is; their coming and ſtanding in that relation, is a plain ſignification of conſent, and rendereth them obliged Covenanters or Sponſors.

5. Theſe ſponſors are not obliged to profeſs that the Child is *theirs by Adoption* or *any propriety*: And ſo far is any ſuch *adopting* or *owning* from their purpoſes, that we never in all our lives knew any Godfather or Godmother as ſuch, (not having before taken the Child as theirs on other reaſons) that ever became a ſponſor with ſuch a ſignified intent.

6. In moſt Country Pariſhes that we have known, a great part of the Communicants, ſeem Ignorant themſelves of what is to be undertaken for the baptized, (as we judge by our tryal where we have lived, and the credible report of other Paſtors:) And too many notoriouſly live themſelves in a courſe of life contrary to what is to be undertaken for the Child.

7. In all our lives we never knew one perſon that undertook this Office of Godfather or Godmother who beforehand gave the Parents any credible promiſe or ſignification, that they had any purpoſe at all to perform, what the Church Chargeth on them, and they there undertake as their *parts* and *duties*.

8. Nor did we ever know one in all our lives that as a *Godfather* or Godmother did perform it;

viz. [*To see themselves that the Child be taught his Covenant as soon as he is able to learn,* and to provide that he be taught all before recited, his Creed, &c. and *all things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soules health, and that he be vertuously brought up to leade a godly and a Christian life*: But they leave them to the Parents.

9. No man can compel another to be Godfather or Godmother.

10. All such undertakers that we have known have been of some of these following sorts: 1. Either *ignorant* persons that knew not, or *careless* that considered not what they did: 2. Or persons that *mistook* the sense of the Church, and thought that they were but the *representers* of the *Parents*, and that what *they* promised, it was *not they*, but the *Parents* that were bound to perform: 3. Or *Nonconformists* (in this point) who purposed beforehand to be but the *Parents Representatives*, and that the promise and obligation should all be devolved from them on the Parents, though they knew the Church meant otherwise; and that they were not bound to the Churches sense; and therefore their standing to hear [*this is your part*] was no consent to take it for their part. And none of all these do answer the Churches sense in their undertaking: And if we are commonly baptized and made Christians in a way of *false Vowing* or *Covenanting* of such persons, or of *delusory Equivocation*, it is not well.

11. We know not where Parents can procure any to undertake this Office as the Church imposeth it, that *credibly* signifie themselves *able* and *willing* to perform it: we could not do it our selves were we never so desirous: Perhaps

som

ſome *Rich men* might hire others to take their Children into their *Care* and *Education*, as muſt be promiſed; but who would do ſo for the poor? yea for *all* the poor of *England*? And the Nonconformiſts are not ſatisfied that it is lawful to engage any in a perfidious covenanting before God, when before-hand they have no credible ſignification of any purpoſe to perform it. Nay, when the Parent reſolveth to educate his own Child, and not to truſt him to the *Proviſion* or care of others.

12. The Miniſter Covenanting [*to uſe the form in the Book of Common Prayer preſcribed in adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and no other*] *Can.* 36. No Parent *may ſpeak a word in the name of his own Child*, nor to *enter him* there *into the Covenant of God*, nor profeſs that he offereth him to Baptiſm by virtue of, and in confidence in the promiſe [*I will be thy God, and the God of thy ſeed in their Generations*;] Nor to promiſe himſelf what the Godfathers are to promiſe: The words alſo of the Can. 29. are theſe; "[*No Parent ſhall be urged to be* PRESENT; *nor be* "*admitted to anſwer as Godfather for his own* "*Child*: *Nor any Godfather or Godmother ſhall* "*be ſuffered to make any other anſwer or ſpeech* "*than by the Book of Common Prayer is preſcribed* "*in that behalf.*

13. It is the Godfathers work alſo (by the Liturgy) *to take care that the Child be brought to the Biſhop to be confirmed by him* (in the manner of the Church of *England*) as ſoon as he can ſay the Creed, Lords Prayer, and ten Commandments, and *be further inſtructed in the Church Catechiſm*; which Godfathers uſe not

at all to perform; nor do the Parents uſe to expect it: Nor doth one Child of a multitude underſtand what the Baptiſmal Covenant is, of many a year after they have learned to ſay the ſaid Catechiſm.

14. That the Godfathers ſtand not there as the *Repreſenters* of the *Parents* is evident (according to the ſenſe of the Church) becauſe the Parent himſelf is not ſuffered to do it, or ſpeak one covenanting word; nor muſt be urged to be preſent; nor are they to ſpeak in the *Parents name* in any of their undertakings; Nor is there the leaſt intimation that the Church taketh the Sponſor for the Parents Repreſentative.

15. The Parents are to be admoniſhed not to defer the Baptiſm of their Children longer than the firſt or ſecond *Sunday*, unleſs upon a great and reaſonable cauſe to be approved by the Curate (whether they can get underſtanding, credible Godfathers or not:) Theſe are the Matters of Fact.

Here note 1. That there is no Controverſie between the Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts, whether Chriſtians Infants ſhould be baptized: 2. Nor whether aConformiſts baptizing be valid: 3. Nor whether the Parents preſence be abſolutely neceſſary, and another may not ſpeak in his name: 4. Nor whether Adopters, or any Proprieters may not covenant for the Child: 5. Nor whether the old Sponſors be lawful, who 1. Witneſſed the credibility of the Parent; 2. And undertook the Chriſtian Education of the Child, if the Parents ſhould either *die* or apoſtatize: The Nonconformiſts are againſt no ſuch Sponſors, though they think that their Children have right

right to Baptiſm without ſuch. 6. Nor do they deny that Baptiſm in the Pariſh-Churches is *valid* and *lawful* as to the Parents and Godfathers, if they do but agree on the Nonconformiſts way, that the Sponſors ſhall but repreſent the Parents, and that they be not bound by the contrary judgment of the Authors of the Liturgy to the contrary. But the queſtions are 1. Whether a Chriſtians Child, whoſe Parents have no way forfeited their credit, have not right to Baptiſm, without other Godfathers. 2. Whether the *Parent* ſhould not *ſolemnly enter his own Child into the Covenant of God* (as well as in times of Circumciſion.) And whether any Parent ſhould be *forbidden* it, *viz.* to appear and ſpeak as the Repreſenter of the Child, or Undertaker for him, and Promiſer of his Education. 3. Whether that Child muſt *profeſs* by another, that *He Himſelf Believeth, Renounceth, Repenteth and Deſireth Baptiſm*: And it be not rather to be *profeſſed* that he is the *ſeed* of a *Believing, Penitent Parent*, whoſe *Will* is as *his Will*, and is under God's Promiſe [*I will be thy God, and the God of thy ſeed.*] 4. Whether a Chriſtian Parent may conſent to the *perfidious undertaking* of any *Godfathers*, who give him not the leaſt reaſon to believe that they intend that proviſion for the Children which they undertake: Or elſe may let his Child be unbaptized till he can get ſuch a credible Undertaker; which is never like to be with moſt, or many. 5. Whether the Children of Heathens, or Infidels, or Atheiſts, have right to Baptiſm upon the preſentation of any Godfather, who never adopteth them, or taketh them for his own, nor giveth any credible notice

that he really intendeth to educate thoſe Children as *pro forma* he ſeemeth to undertake: Or whether ſuch Children are truly ſaid to believe, becauſe the Godfather, or Miniſter, or Congregation, or Dioceſs, or Nation, or Catholick Church believe.

III. The Nonconformiſts are not of one mind about receiving the Lords Supper *Kneeling*; Many judge it *Lawful*, though neither neceſſary nor moſt eligible were they free; ſome judge it alſo moſt eligible: And ſome judge it, as things ſtand, unlawful: Their reaſons are.

1. In doubtful caſes duty lieth on the ſureſt ſide: But this to them is a doubtful caſe on one ſide, and to imitate Chriſts inſtitution by ſuch ſitting as men uſe to do at meat, is certainly Lawful.

2. Becauſe they think this Kneeling violateth the reaſons of the ſecond Commandment, being uſed where, by whole Countries of Papiſts round about us, and many among us it ſignifieth *Bread-Worſhip* or Idolatry by the ſame Action at the ſame ſeaſon uſed. For they ſuppoſe that the ſecond Commandment forbiddeth *Images*, as being *External, Corporal, Idolatry*, and *Symbolizing* ſcandalouſly with Idolators, though the mind intend the worſhiping of the true God alone. And ſuch they think this kneeling is, and that it encourageth the Papiſts (as is inſtanced in a ſtory in the Life of Biſhop *Hall.*)

3 Becauſe they think that the Tradition and Cuſtom of the Catholick Church and the Canons of the greateſt General Councils not repealed by any other (as *Nic.* 1. *Can.* 20. *& Can. Truli. &c,*) are of ſtronger obligation than the

the Canons of our Convocation. And those Canons, Customs and tradition prohibite all Adoration by Genuflection on any Lords day in the year, and on any week day els between *Easter* and *whitsuntide*; And this custom continued 1000 years as the Tradition of the Universal Church; and was never repealed but charged by degrees by contrary practice: They that think not that they are bound by these Canons or Customs at all, yet think that they are enough to nullifie a contrary Canon of a lower power; or *ad hominem* may excuse them. Yea the Constitutions called the Apostles, seem to Command all the people to receive the Sacrament standing and to go for it *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 57. Having prescribed the order of worship (that after the old Scriptures read, they sing a Psalm and then read the Acts and Epistles and the Gospels, and then that the Presbyters one by one exhort the people first and the Bishop last (for in those time every Church that had an Altar had a Bishop) he concludeth [*Postea vero fiat sacrificium, cum bo populo Stante & silente precante, & oblatione facta, quisque ordo seorsim corpus Domini & pretiosum sanguinem sumat, accedentes ordine cum pudore & reverentia ut ad corpus Regis. Item mulieres operto capite, ut ordinem earum decet, accedant* that is [After let the *sacrifice* be *made, all* the *people standing* and *praying in silence*: *And the oblation being made let every order apart take* the *body* of *Christ and his precious blood*: *Coming* to it *in order with modesty* and *reverence as to the body* of the King. *And let the women approach with covered heads as becometh their order.*]

For ſuch reaſons as theſe ſet together, ſome Nonconformiſts, (*Lay* and Clergy) take this *Kneeling* (while Papiſts about us by the ſame geſture adore the Bread) to be unlawful, who yet profeſs as great Reverence to Chriſt and the Euchariſt as any others.

But other Nonconformiſts ſay that they can anſwer all theſe arguments. But that they truly render the ſcruples of the diſſenters *tollerable*, and the perſons unmeet to be *therefore excommunicate*.

2. By the Canon and Rubrick, no one of theſe diſſenters muſt be admitted to the holy Communion, *Can.* 27. Saith [*No Miniſter when he celebrateth the Communion ſhall wittingly adminiſter the ſame to any, but to ſuch as kneel, under pain of ſuſpenſion.*] And the Miniſters Covenant to uſe *no form of adminiſtring the Sacraments but according to the Liturgie.*

V. The Rubrick after Confirmation ſaith [*There ſhall none be admitted to the holy Communion, till ſuch time as he be confirmed, or be Ready and Deſirous to be confirmed.* So that deſire of Confirmation in the *Engliſh* way, is made a neceſſary Condition of Communion.

2. The publick owning of the Baptiſmal Covenant, is that which the Nonconformiſts are ſo far from being againſt, that they take it with a ſerious Confirmation thereupon to be the meet way of tranſition from the Infant ſtate of Church-memberſhip, into that of the Adult: and the moſt Congruous means of uniting diſſenters about Church diſcipline, and of preventing Anabaptiſtry that can be found out. But many ſober Chriſtians are unſatisfied with the *Engliſh* way

way of Confirmation, 1. Becauſe they find it ſo like to that Confirmation which the Papiſts have made a Sacrament, and which very many beyond-Sea Proteſtants have written againſt: *vide Dallæum de confirmat.* 2 Becauſe it is made the proper work of a Dioceſan, and wholly denyed to the Parochial Paſtors; And becauſe thoſe Dioceſans know not ordinarily whether the perſons be meet or unmeet to be confirmed, being ſtrangers to them; for how can they know all the perſons, men, women and ſuch Children of ſo many Pariſhes as a Dioceſs doth contain: (ſome Dioceſſes having above a thouſand Pariſhes others many hundred: One above 100 miles in Length, and others, very great) ? Its true, that the Miniſter of the Pariſh is bid to Catechiſe them, and to bring or ſend in writing the names of ſuch as he thinks fit for Confirmation. But 1. This is not ordinarily done: but Children in our time have uſed to run together to a biſhop when he came into the Country on that work, without the Miniſters Certificate or Godfathers; and none, that ever we knew of, that came for Confirmation in this manner, was refuſed: And as the Biſhop never ſaw or knew one of the multitude whom he Confirmeth, ſo he taketh not time ſo far to examine them as to give him rational ſatisfaction of their fitneſs: Nor indeed can he poſſibly do it for one of a multitude of ſo large Dioceſſes, when moſt *great Pariſhes* are too big for a preſent Miniſter who is acquainted with them better than a ſtrange Dioceſan can be: How can a man that hath ſo many other employments as Dioceſans have find leiſure, were he never ſo willing, to examine

ſo,

ſo many hundred thouſands as are in this Dioceſs? or ſo many ſcore thouſands as are in many others? 3. And as the Miniſters rarely certifie according to the Canon, ſo the Biſhop is not tyed to take his conſent, but may thus impoſe confirmed perſons on his Communion, though he know them to be never ſo ignorant or unmeet. 4. And it is *Children* that are thus to be confirmed, who rarely ever come ſo young to own with any tolerable underſtanding and ſeriouſneſs, their Baptiſmal Covenant. Few of us by experience can ſay, that we did it of many years after that we had learned the Lords Prayer &c. 5. And no other qualification is neceſſary, but that he learn the Creed, Lords-Prayer, Decalogue, and Church Catechiſm, the bare words of which are learnt by rote by multitudes of Children, who underſtand little or nothing of what they ſay: We do not find, that if perſons ſtay unconfirmed till they are adult, that any Hereſie or wickedneſs of life, is a bar to their confirmation; much leſs are they required to bring any teſtimony, that they live according to their Baptiſmal Covenant. 6. And as far as we can learn, it is but a very ſmall part of this Kingdom in compariſon of the reſt, that ever were confirmed. 7. Nor know we many Miniſters that ever examined their people generally, whether they were ready and willing to be confirmed.

VI. The Nonconformable Laity are ejected from the Communion of the Church, and their Children (that are diſpoſed of by them) from Baptiſm, Chriſtendom and Chriſtian burial, if not from ſalvation, as far as in the Church lyeth;

lyeth; and thoſe that *affirm themſelves to be Nonconformiſts* are by the *Church Laws excommunicated ipſo facto*, though they ſhould deſire Communion.

2. That no Miniſter is to admit them to the Sacramental Communion is before ſhewed from Can. 27. And alſo that their Children are not to be baptized, unleſs they will ſubmit them to the dedicating ſign of the Croſs; no nor to be buried with Chriſtian Burial (of which more afterward.)

3 If they have a Miniſter in their own Pariſh that never preacheth, or ſo bad as that they dare not commit the Paſtoral care of their ſouls to him, they muſt not be admitted to Communion, in any other neighbour Pariſhes, Can. 28.

That they are *ipſo facto excommunicated*, ſhall be anon ſhewed.

SECT. IX.

The Matters of Fact that concern the Conformity and Nonconformity of the Miniſters: And 1. *of Aſſent, Conſent and Subſcription that nothing is contrary to God's Word.*

1. THE Canon to be ſubſcribed (36th) *willingly* and *ex animo* is *That the Book of Common-Prayer*, and of ordaining of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, containeth in it NOTHING CONTRARY TO THE WORD OF GOD; *and*

and that he himſelf will uſe the form in the ſaid Book preſcribed in publick Prayers and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and none other.

2. The meaning of this ſubſcription is not agreed of by the Conformiſts that take it: As to the firſt clauſe, ſome ſay that by [*Nothing Contrary to the word*] is meant as it is ſpoken, [*Nothing*] indeed. Others ſay by [*Nothing*] is meant [*Nothing which I have diſcerned ſo to be*: Or [*Nothing, except ſuch failings as all humane writings are lyable to.*] And by [*Contrary*] Some ſay [*Contrary in the Common ſenſe of the word*] is meant: But others ſay that by [*Contrary*] is meant [*ſo far Contrary as ſhould drive us from Communion with the Church*] or [*Contrary to any great doctrine or precept* of the *Word of God.* And the Nonconformiſts interpret it as the firſt ſort do, according to the uſual and proper meaning of the words.

3. So the later clauſe, [*that he himſelf will uſe* that *form in publick prayer* and *adminiſtration* of *the Sacraments* and *none other*;] Dr. *Heylin* and very many others ſuppoſe is meant properly as is ſpoken *viz.* That by the *form* is meant all the *words* and *orders*, and that by *publick prayer* is meant as is ſpoken, *All publick prayer uſed by a Miniſter in the publick aſſemblies*] And that by [*None other*] is meant [neither *wholly* nor *in part.*] But others think that by [*Form*] is meant only [*the form of words*, and not the *orders*] And that by [*none other*] is meant only [*No other Book of Common-Prayer or ſet Liturgie.*] Or [*No other entire form and order excluding this*;] And that it doth not mean [*No other form before or after Sermon in the Pulpit*, or *in ſome*

ſome parts of Worſhip, ſo it be of our own Compoſure :] Nor yet that we may not uſe ſometime ſome other order than is preſcribed in the Rubricks, *viz.* 1. Sometime read other Chapters than the Calender preſcribeth, becauſe that Liberty is expreſſed in the Preface to the ſecond Book of Homilies : 2. Sometimes to give the Sacrament to ſome that kneel not : 3. To baptize ſome without the Croſs, &c. (of which more hereafter) Becauſe the Rubrick ſaith only [*you ſhall do thus*] but ſaith not [*you ſhall do no otherwiſe.*] But to this the former ſort anſwer 1. That if any univerſal Negative (*none other*) may be *particularly* or limitedly interpreted upon our own ſurmiſes, no Laws, Covenants or Promiſes ſigniſie any thing, and no words are intelligible: 2. That we ſubſcribe ſtrictly to this Article (to uſe no other form,) But not ſo to the Book of Homilies, but only that we take it for wholſom Doctrine : 3. That if the Rubrick for Croſſing, Kneeling, &c. exclude not all other inconſiſtent forms of adminiſtration, it ſignifieth nothing, but leaveth every man to his own will.

4. It is yet a greater doubt with the Conformiſts themſelves, whether theſe words be not at leaſt a Covenant that *They will uſe no other printed preſcribed Liturgy*. And ſo ſome think that it plainly obligeth them not to uſe thoſe printed Forms which the Archbiſhops and Biſhops have uſed to draw up and impoſe, for ſeveral Publick Faſts, Thankſgivings, and particular occaſions. But others think that it doth not bind them to diſobey the Biſhops therein: but that ſuch exceptions were intended though not expreſt, or at leaſt had been inſerted if not forgotten.

II. The

II. The Act of Uniformity requireth that every Minister that officiates "[*Do openly and publickly before the Congregation there assembled, "declare his unfeigned Assent and Consent to the "Use of all things in the Book contained and prescribed, in these words and no other [*I A. B. do "here declare my unfeigned Assent and Consent "to all and every thing contained and prescribed, "in and by the Book entituled, The Book of Common-Prayer, & Administration of the Sacraments "and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, "according to the use of the Church of* England; "*together with the Psalter or Psalms of* David "*pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches, "and the form or manner of making, ordaining "and consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons.*] "And page 10. [*He shall declare his unfeigned Assent and Consent unto, and Approbation of the "said Book, and to the use of all the Prayers, "Rites and Ceremonies, Forms and Orders therein contained and prescribed according to the "form aforesaid.*]

2. The Conformists themselves are not agreed of the meaning of these plain words, One party expounding them as the Nonconformists do, according to the propereſt and ordinary use of the words, and the other party otherwise. The former hold that as many Acts of Parliament Contein more in the body of the Act than in the Title, and make the *means* more extensive than the end, so here the ASSENT and CONSENT to the USE of the Book is the END in the first clause, and APPROBATION also in the second: And that the Declaring that form of words is the *Means to that end*: That Assent

Aſſent ſignifieth *Aſſent to the Truth*] and [*Conſent* and *Approbation*] relate to the *Goodneſs, rectitude and uſe*] And that this is not only of the Prayers and other parts which the ſubſcriber is to Read to the people but as is expreſt [*of all things* (without exception] *Contained in and preſcribed by it* ; particularly *to all the Prayers, Rites, Ceremonies, Forms and Orders* ;] without colluſion or equivocation.

The other part hold, that all this ſignifieth no more, but that [*I Aſſent that I may lawfully uſe*, and I *Conſent to uſe, ſo much as belongeth to my place*, and that *I will not unpeaceably oppoſe it.*] Their argument is, *Becauſe* [to the Uſe,] is mentioned before the Form of words. To which the other anſwer as before, that 1. That *Approbation* is mentioned after as well as *Uſe*. 2. That the *Means* are larger than the *end:* As in the Corporation Act, the end is the *preventing of Rebellion* ; but the Means is Declaring that [*There is no obligation on me or any other from that Oath.*] 3. That without groſs violence *Aſſent* can be judged to mean no leſs than [*Aſſenting* that *it is true.*] 4. That there is not a word in the Book which was not intended for ſome *Uſe* : And therefore, to *Aſſent*, *Approve* and *Conſent to the Uſe*, is more than meerly to *Aſſent* to the Truth : The Preface hath its Uſe ; and the Calendar its Uſe, and the Rubrick its uſes, and the reſt of the parts their ſeveral Uſes ; But did we believe it to be *falſe*, how could we *Approve* it, or of what *Uſe* would it be? 5. To put all out of doubt the Parliament-men long ago told us (none Contradicting it to us) that into another Bill, the houſe of Lords added a *Proviſo* that the Decla-

Declaration in the Act of *Vniformity* ſhould be underſtood but as obliging men *to the Uſe of it*; and that the Houſe of Commons refuſing, at a Conference about it, they gave in ſuch Reaſons againſt that ſenſe and proviſo to the Lords, upon which they did acquieſce, and caſt it out.

III. By this General Declaration we are obliged to *Aſſent* to (as true) to *Approve* and to *Uſe* theſe words after the Calender, " [*Rules to* " *know when the Moveable Feaſts and Holydaies* " *begin. Eaſter-day* (*on which the reſt depend*) *is* " *alwaies the firſt Sunday after the firſt full Moon,* " *which happens next after the one and twentieth* " *day of* March.]

2. This Rule is falſe: As 1. Every Almanack will ſhew: 2. The Table following to find out *Eaſter-day* for ever: 3. And the practice of our Church, that keepeth *Eaſter* on another day.

3. To conſent to *Uſe this*, is to conſent to keep *Eaſter-day*, contrary to all Chriſtian Churches, and contrary to another Rule in the ſame Book; and to conſent to *uſe both Rules*, is to *conſent to keep two Eaſter-days* in one year; and ſo of *Eaſter* Term.

4. Hereupon ſome Conformiſts ſay, that [*Aſſenting to, Approving of, and Conſenting to All things contained and preſcribed.*] ſignifieth but [*as to humane, fallible writings, ſo far as there is no miſtake*] or [*Aſſenting* and *Conſenting* to be *peaceable.*] But others ſay that it is but [*to Aſſent that it is true where it is not falſe, and Appr ve it as good where it is not bad; and to Conſent to uſe it where I have no cauſe to the contrary.*] And they ask, 1. Whether this be the uſual or proper ſignification of ſuch words? 2. Whether any

Non-

Nonconformiſts would refuſe it in that ſenſe. 3. Whether they will give leave to the Papiſts and all other ſubjects to take the Oath of Allegiance in ſuch a kind of ſenſe and expoſition.

But there is one that hath defended this as true, and tells us that by the [*full moon*] is not meant that which we call the *full moon*, or the ſame that's meant in the other parts of the Book, but by the *full moon* is meant [*the mean Conjunction*] and [the *fourth* of *April* that year 1664. Or [14 *daies after the ancient new moon found* by *the Golden number* the 14*th day of the Eccleſiaſtical Cyclic month*] For an old Maſs Book ſaith [*Poſt veris æquinoctium Quære plenilunium & Dominica proxima ſacrum celebra Paſcha: Non verius inveneris ſi mille legas Codices.*]

Queſt. 1. Are we ſure this Maſs Book meant not *plenilunium* as we do properly?

Queſt. 2. And are we ſure they erred not that wrote this?

Queſt. 3. And yet are you ſure what they meant?

Queſt. 4. Would you perſwade us that our Convocation now borrowed their Direction from this Maſs Book?

Queſt. 5. Are you ſure that this Maſs Book ſhould be our rule herein of ſpeaking or interpreting?

Queſt. 6. And yet not in the Calendar and other paſſages in our Liturgy?

Queſt. 7. Did the the Convocation intend that we ſhould not here underſtand [*The full moon*] properly, nor as in all the reſt of the Book?

Queſt. 8. If this defender be in the right, was there ever a plainer way made to bring all men

to an *Implicit Faith*, to believe as the Convocation believeth, even in Calendars, when we know not what they believe themſelves. For my part I muſt confeſs that after all this Dr. (*Pell* they ſay) hath ſaid of another ſenſe of the word [*full Moon*] I know not yet what he meaneth. *Qu.* Whether the Convocation meant that none ſhould Preach Chriſts Goſpel that underſtood not this ſtrange ſenſe of the [*full Moon*] that is [*no full Moon*] and yet would not by one line *expound* it to us, to keep us from being caſt out and ruined? Or whether they meant that all men ſhould be forced and taught to ſubſcribe or declare aſſent to that which they never underſtood? when I had never yet the advantage of ſpeaking with one Biſhop, or conformable Dr. that underſtood the word [*full Moon*] as this Doctor taught them (whether in good earneſt I know not.) And if our Conformity muſt be thus performed, by equivocation implicitly, contrary to the common ſenſe of mankind, we ſhall yet ſuſpend it, till we know how much further we have to go, if it be blindfold that we muſt be led; and refer all to God our final Judge, whoſe judgment we are near.

" 4. We *Aſſent* to, *Approve* of and *Conſent* " to, theſe words in the Preface [*we are fully* " *perſwaded in our judgements* (and *we here profeſs* " *it to the world*) *that the Book as it ſtood* " *before eſtabliſhed* by Law; *doth not contein in it* " *any thing contrary to the Word of God, or to ſound* " *Doctrine, or which a Godly man may not with* " *a good Conſcience Uſe and ſubmit unto, or which* " *is not fairly defenſible againſt any that ſhall oppoſe the ſame, &c.*] 2. *Pſal.* 105. 28. The words in the

the Liturgy and old Tranſlation are [*They were not obedient to his word*] And the new Tranſlation according to the *Hebrew* is [*They rebelled not againſt his word*] Clear contrary: Therefore the Nonconformiſts think that one of them is Contrary to the word of God (and this old Tranſlation is Continued ſtill in the Church.) 3. In the old Book in the Goſpels theſe texts are thus tranſlated *Rom.* 12. 2. *Epiſt.* to 1. ſunday after *Epiph.* [*Be ye changed in your ſhape:*] The new Tranſlation is [*Be tranſformed by the renewing of your mind*] *Phil.* 2. 7. *Epiſt.* for ſunday next before Eaſter [*found in his apparel as a man:*] In the new Tranſlation it is (Was made in the likeneſs of men.] *Gal.* 4. *Ep.* to 4th ſunday in Lent, It is [*Mount Sinai is Agar in Arabia and bordereth on the City which is now called Jeruſalem.*] In the new Tranſlation it is [For this *Agar* was *mount Sinai in Arabia, and anſwereth to Jeruſalem which now is.*] *Mathews* day *Ep.* 2 *Cor.* 4. The old Book has it [*We go not out of kind.*] The new is [*We faint not.*] *John.* 2. for third *Sunday in Lent* [*When men be drunk,*] is the old Books Tranſlation: But the new is [*When men have well drunk.*] *Luke* 11. for third *Sunday in Lent*, the old Book hath [*When one houſe doth fall upon another*] the new hath [*A houſe divided againſt an houſe falleth.*] *Luke* 1. for the *Annunciation*; the old Book ſayeth [*This is the ſixth month which was called barren*] in the new Tranſlation it is [*This is the ſixth month with her who was called barren.* If one of theſe be *God's Word*, the Nonconformiſts think that the other is *contrary* to it. 4. In the old Book in the Pſalms there are whole verſes left out, which

are in the Hebrew Text, and our new Translation; and divers translated in a quite different sense the former following the Septuagint. 5. The Rubrick for *Christmas day* is [*Then shall follow the Collect of the Nativity, which shall be said continually unto New-years day.*] And the Collect for all these several daies is [*Almighty God, which hast given us thine only begotten Son to take our Nature upon him*, and THIS DAY to be born of a pure Virgin. So the Collect on *Whitsunday* is [*God which upon this day, &c.*] The Rubrick is, [*The same Collect to be read Munday and Teesday.*] So on *Christmas day*, and seven daies after [*Because thou hast given Jesus Christ thine only Son to be born as on this day for us, &c.*] And on *Whitsunday*, and *six daies* after [*According to whose most true promise the Holy Ghost came down this day from Heaven.*] These things, and such other we must approve in the foresaid *Approbation* of all things in the *old Common-Prayer-Book*.

V. We must Assent, Approve, and Consent to all the *mis-translations in the present Liturgy*, as well as to justifie the *old Edition*: That before-cited *Psal.* 105. 28. is in the *present Book*, and so are the rest of the omissions and differences in the Psalms before mentioned, which are many. Different Translations which have all the *same sense*, may be all called *God's Word*, because their *sense* is so: But where they have *different senses*, so far one of them is contrary to God's Word: For God's Word is *one* and *true*, and not contrary to it self. The question is not whether these faulty Translations were not a *good work*, and a great mercy to the Church, till we had a

better?

better? Nor whether they may not be lawfully uſed where there is no better? Yea or where there is a better, if the Command of Governours, or Concord, make it beſt for that time and place. But it is, Whether all the *faults* of the *Tranſlation* may be *Aſſented, Approved* and *Conſented to*? We commit ſome failings and ſins every day, but we may not *Approve* of them, and profeſs that we *Conſent* ſo to do.

2. Some Conformiſts here think that the Declaration is to be taken *properly*, without any force or diſtorting, and they ſay that *both Tranſlations* are juſtifiable, becauſe one followeth the Hebrew, and the other the Septuagint, and Chriſt and his Apoſtles have juſtified both by uſing them. But others of them hold that this inſtance proveth that by [*All things*] Aſſented and conſented to, muſt be meant only [*All things* that *are not by humane frailty miſtaken*, or *erroneous*] or els, that by *Aſſenting* and *Approving* muſt be meant no more than *Aſſenting that they may be Uſed*: And ſo they conſent with the Nonconformiſts in the matter, but not in the expoſition of the words. And to the former they ſay, 1. That there are other miſtranſlations, beſides thoſe that follow the ſeptuagint. 2. That Chriſt and the Apoſtles by citing ſome Texts according to the ſeptuagint, do not thereby approve of all the reſt; for they cite others otherwiſe. 3. That by citing them, they juſtifie not alwaies the tranſlation, but only the *ſenſe* ſo far as it is cited for, it being that ſcripture which the people then commonly uſed.

3. And they ſay that if this objection ſhould hinder mens Aſſenting to the Liturgy, it might

as well hinder their Aſſenting to the Bible in our tranſlations. And indeed we know no Nonconformiſt who would declare or ſubſcribe that he doth *Aſſent to, Approve and Conſent to all things Contained in the Bible according to any Tranſlation, but only all things Contained in the Bible as it was delivered by the ſacred writers, and in all Tranſlations* ſo far as they truly *ſignifie* or *expreſs that* to us. But if they might but ſay, as one part expounds the Declaration, [We *Aſſent, &c. To all things Contained, &c.* That *are not by humane frailty miſtaken*] they would ſoon Conform herein.

6. The Calendar in the Common Prayer appointeth the publick reading of the Books called *Apocrypha* beginning *September* 28. And ſo Continuing to *November* 24. Every day of the week, except the proper Leſſons interpoſed. Part of the Apocrypha to be read are the Book of *Tobit, Judith, Bell,* and the *Dragon &c.*

2. Learned Biſhops and Divines of the Church of England have written to prove that theſe Books are not only Aprocryphal but fabulous, and have manifeſt untruths; As that the intralls of a fiſh will drive away all Devils and keep them from returning: When Chriſt ſaith [*This kind goeth not out but by Faſting and Prayer*] And when the Angel ſaith that *He was the ſon* of *Ananias of the tribe of Napthali,*] &c.

3. Theſe Books are to be read juſt in the place and order as the Sacred Scriptures are; and under the ſame title of the [*Firſt Leſſon*] Only called Apocrypha in the Bibles. But 1. It is not appointed that the Prieſt tell the people ſo: 2. If it were, they underſtand not Commonly what

[*Apocrypha*]

[*Apocrypha*] ſignifieth: 3. If they were ſometime told it, they forget it; and apply not that name to every Leſſon that they thence hear. 4. It is not denyed that the ſounder Books that are *Apocrypha may be read in the Church* as a Homily may be with due notice of their difference from the Canonical Books: But the queſtion is whether not only *they*, but the Books proved fabulous by many Proteſtants, may be there read, and that inſtead of ſo much of the holy Scripture then omitted, and that without any better notice given to the Common people of the difference. 5. And the chief doubt is, whether this may not only be done, but alſo the Calendar as ſo appointing it, may be Approved of and Conſented to by us all.

7 It hath been before opened, that no Parent is permitted to be Godfather to his own Child; or to ſpeak one word at his baptizing, to enter him into the Covenant of God, or dedicate him to him, nor to promiſe in his name, nor to undertake any part of his Chriſtian education, nor ſo much as to be urged to be preſent. Nor is there a word to intimate that the Godfathers repreſent the Parent, or ſpeak in his name or ſtead, but the contrary is implyed. [Though the Parents are to procure theſe God fathers. 2. It hath alſo been before ſhewed how great a Controverſie it is, whether Infants Right to Gods promiſes and Church ſtate, be not by that Covenant [*I Will be thy God* and *the God of thy ſeed*;] implyed in 1. *Cor.* 7. 14. [*els were your* Children *unclean but now are they holy.*] And ſo whether Infants have any right upon a Godfathers words there, who never took them for,

his own; if on the Parents account they have no right. And whether ſuch Godfathers act be truly the Childs in Gods account; 3. And it was before enquired, In what ſenſe this Godfather doth (not *promiſe only* that the Child *ſhall believe* at age, but) in the Childs name *profeſs* that *he doth at preſent believe*: And whether it be not enough [and much more neceſſary then the Godfathers faith) that he be the Child of a *believing Parent*, *dedicating him to God.* 4. And it hath been ſhewed that Godfathers promiſe themſelves partly to teach the Child, and partly to provide that he be taught all that a Chriſtian ſhould learn as neceſſary to his ſouls health. 5. And that theſe Godfathers never ordinarily, give the Parents the leaſt reaſon to believe that they have any purpoſe to do any ſuch thing as they undertake: Which is perfidiouſneſs in the weightieſt buſineſs: And 6. alſo that (as ſuch) they are no adopters or owners of the Child. 7. And alſo how hard it is for any Parents ever to get better, ſeeing *wiſer* and *better* will not undertake it in the foreſaid conformable ſence. 8. The ſence and uſe of Godfathers is partly known by the Practiſe of Princes and great men, (who muſt be ſuppoſed to know beſt, and be moſt righteous and exemplary) who uſually by a *Proxie* are Godfathers to the Children of Foreign Princes, or Great men, (perhaps Papiſts) whom they never ſaw, nor ever are like to ſee their Children. 9. Miniſters muſt Aſſent, Approve of and Conſent to, all this excluſion of the Parents, and preſentation, profeſſion, undertaking and promiſe of the Godfathers, which the Liturgy mentioneth;

tioneth; 10. Conformiſts are not agreed themſelves, of the true Office and undertaking of theſe Godfathers, nor of the Parents part, nor by whoſe right it is that one Child rather than others is to be baptized, and whether any at all ſhould be refuſed by whomſoever (that is a Chriſtian) offered thereunto.

8. The Rubrick to which we muſt declare our Aſſent, Approbation and Conſent, hath this Article of faith. [*It is certain by Gods Word, that Children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual ſin are undoubtedly ſaved.*] And the Rubrick at Buryal, excepteth all the *unbaptized* from Chriſtian Burial, according to the Office.

2. The Canon 68 and 69, ſuſpendeth any Miniſter who ſhall *refuſe* or *delay* to Chriſten *any Child* without exception which is brought to the Church on Sundays or Holydays to be Chriſtned, according to the Form in the Common-Prayer; or if in caſe of danger he be deſired to do it privately. Neither Rubrick nor Canon here except from Baptiſm and certainty of ſalvation, any Children of *Turks*, *Infidels*, *Heathens*, and *Atheiſts*, or thoſe whoſe Parents renounce Chriſtianity, and conſent not to their Childrens Baptiſm; ſo be it any Godfathers as aforeſaid bring them.

3. The Conformiſts agree not of the ſence of this *Article* of Faith: Some hold that the word [*Children* here meaneth not [*All Children that are Baptized*] but *ſome* ſuch only: But others affirm that this expoſition is falſe, and contrary to the plain importance of the words, for it is an *Indefinite*, ſay they, *in re neceſſaria*, in the ſenſe

ſenſe of the Book. And if the meaning be not [*Children that are Baptized, qua tales*] it hath no intelligible ſenſe, the certainty of their Salvation being Aſſerted as from Scripture, and not any other *reaſon* of it given. But if this be the meaning (as it is) then *a quatenus ad omnes valet conſequentia*; unleſs any exception had been added, which is not.

4. Some ſay that it is implied that Children that *had no right to Baptiſm* are excepted. But others ſay 1. That *ubi lex non diſtinguit non eſt diſtinguendum.* The Church could have excepted if they would. 2. And that *quod fieri non debet factum valet.* 3. Yea that all Children have right to Baptiſm, if any Chriſtians offer them to it.

5. Some confound the Miniſters right to Baptize them, and the Infants right to be Baptized; And this right as only *in foro Eccleſiæ*, and as *in foro Cæli*; As if all Baptized upon any of theſe rights were undoubtedly ſaved. But others diſtinguiſh theſe, and ſay, 1. That the Miniſter may have right to Baptize one if offered, that yet ought not to have been offered; which will not ſave an uncapable ſubject: 2. That the Children of Hypocrites have right *Coram Eccleſia*, and that their Baptiſm aſcertaineth to them no more than external or common priviledges; 3. And that only the Children of true *believers* have ſuch a right *coram Deo* as certainly ſaveth them. But others ſay that both the laſt ſort are ſaved.

6. Some of them hold that *All Infants in the world Baptized or not, are ſaved by univerſal redemption, if they dye before actual ſin*: And that the Article therefore affirmeth it of the Baptized.

But

But others ſay, this cannot be the ſence: For 1. To ſay [*All baptized*] and mean [*All unbaptized*] or any [*not as Baptized*] were not intelligible nor candid. 2. And the Burial Rubrick excepting the unbaptized from that Chriſtian burial, ſheweth the meaning of the Church in this Article.

7. Alſo about the [*undoubted certainty*] they differ; ſome think that the ſubſcriber or Declarer doth not by theſe words, profeſs that he himſelf is [*undoubtedly certain*] of the ſalvation of all dying Baptized Infants; but only that the thing is *certainly revealed* to be ſo in Gods Word. But others ſay, that both objective and ſubjective (or perſonal) *certainty* muſt needs be meant: And that it were too hard an imputation to ſay that the Church commandeth *uncertain, doubting* men to profeſs that the thing is *certain* and *undoubted* of; for how can they tell that it is ſo? And if they know it not to be ſo why ſhould they declare it to be ſo? The meaning is not [*I declare that the Convocation ſaith it is certain*;] for that were but the part of a cryer or reader: Nor is it *I declare that it is certain to others, though not to me.*] For no man knoweth anothers certainty; Therefore it muſt mean that [*I am certain* and *paſt doubt by the Word of God*] or [*I ſee aſcertaining evidence in Gods Word putting* it paſt *doubt.*] So that no *uncertain* or *doubting* perſon can truly thus declare or ſubſcribe.

8. Divers of thoſe Divines who are furtheſt from the Nonconformiſts, hold that by the Scripture alone we cannot prove that Infants are at all to be Baptized; and the *jus Baptiſmi* muſt be

be proved before the *ſalvation* of the Baptized as ſuch: Others think it hard for that man to be *certain* by the *Word* of God that all Baptized dying Infants are *ſaved*, who is not certain by that word that *any Infants* ſhould be *Baptized*.

9. Many of the moſt raſh or ſelf-conceited, Ignorant men are readier to profeſs [*undoubted certainty*] than they that are more humble, and know much more than they. And it is not he that *Hath* moſt *certainty* who is now capable of the Miniſtry, but he that *dare profeſs moſt*, whether he have it or not.

10. They that ſhew leſs Learning, eſpecially leſs knowledge in the Scripture, far than many that dare not profeſs this *undoubted certainty*, are not like to be more *certain* then they in this particular Article of faith.

11. We take it for *Arrogance* and Fanaticiſm in the Pope and his Council to pretend Infallible certainty by a *peculiar priviledge*, in thoſe points in which they are unſtudyed and unlearned, as if they knew them by prophetical inſpiration. And when young unſtudyed men have in this point attained to an [*undoubted certainty*] which their wiſer ſeniors cannot attain, it behoveth them to convince us of the truth of their Inſpiration or ſpecial endowments, either by a proportionable excellency above us in other things, or by ſome Miracles or Teſtimonies from Heaven.

12. There is no one *Word of God* cited in the Rubrick which tells us that *It is certain by the Word of God.*

13. *Among* Chriſtian Divines there are all theſe various opinions about the ſalvation of Infants. 1. Some

1. Some hold that the Covenant being to the *faithful* and their *ſeed*, and their children being *holy*, all the children of ſincere Chriſtians are certainly in a ſtate of ſalvation, being by the parents intentionally dedicated to God, before or without Baptiſm: And that Baptiſm is but their ſolemn inveſtiture in that ſtate which was theirs by right before.

2. Others think that this right to ſalvation belongeth to the Children of all profeſſed Chriſtians godly and ungodly,

3 Others think that it belongeth to all Infants in the world.

4. Others think that it belongeth only to ſincere believers Children that are Baptized.

5. Others, that it belongeth to ſound and unſound Chriſtians baptized Infants.

6. Others that it belongeth to all Baptized Infants whoſe ſoever.

7. Others hold that it belongeth alſo to the Children of ſincere Adopters or Proprieters.

8. Others that it belongeth to ſuch as even bad Chriſtians adopt or own.

9. Others that they that have ſincere *Godfathers*, though not *Proprieters*, are ſaved.

10. Others that even *unſound* or *hypocritical* Chriſtian Godfathers, may ſuffice to their ſalvation.

11. Others that the Miniſters or the Churches ſincere (or profeſſed) Faith is hereto ſufficient.

12. And others think that only the *Elect* are ſaved, of whom ſome are baptized, and ſome unbaptized, but no man knoweth who they are. Out of all theſe Opinions the Convocation hath choſen one, as an Article of Faith of *undoubted Certainty* by the Word of God. 13. The

13. The Nonconformiſts know of no Word of God which *aſcertaineth Salvation* to any known determinate Infants, but the great Covenant of Grace, [*I will be thy God, and the God of thy ſeed*;] which ſeed God uſeth as if they were parts of the Parents, *Exod.* 34. 6, 7. and ſecond Commandment: And ſaith to Believers [*Elſe were your children unclean*; but now, &c.

14. Many Divines ſay, that *Faith it ſelf hath not evidence*; (though we think that it hath *evidence* of the Truth of the *Revelation*, though the thing revealed be not *viſible or evident* in it ſelf:) And more confeſs that [*undoubted certainty*] is not Eſſential to the ſaving belief of Chriſt, and of a life to come: And that true Faith may be ſaving, though weak: And that Chriſt ſilenced not his Diſciples when he reproved the weakneſs of their Faith: And that to doubt of this Article about Infants is not ſo dangerous as to doubt of Chriſt or Heaven.

IX. All Miniſters muſt *deny Baptiſm* to thoſe Infants that have no ſuch Godfathers and Godmothers as aforeſaid, though their Parents be true Chriſtians, and offer them to Baptiſm. For this is the only order or form of Baptizing there deſcribed, all other is forbidden, and we ſubſcribe to *uſe no other form in adminiſtration of the Sacraments*. 2. Yet ſome Conformiſts ſay, that the Book bindeth them to *do thus*, but not to omit it, and baptize no otherwiſe. But others of them ſay, 1. That the Rubrick determineth that [*for every child to be baptized, there ſhall be three as Godfathers and Godmothers*] and that the whole Office reſpecteth them as Parties, and ſpeaketh to them, and admitteth no Parent to ſpeak; and

that

that if *Aſſenting to, Approving and Conſenting to this form and Rubrick*, and ſubſcribing a Covenant to *uſe no other form*, ſignifie not that *we will uſe no other*, no words can bind ſuch equivocators. 3. In the ſenſe of the Liturgy, to put Infants from Baptiſm, is to deny them *Chriſtendom, membership of Chriſt, to be children of God, and to be heirs of Heaven*: For the Catechiſm ſaith, that we are *made* ſuch in *Baptiſm*, which with the Rubrick which denyeth them Chriſtian burial, and that laſt mentioned which affirmeth the *undoubted ſalvation of the baptized*, import a denying ſalvation to all that have not ſuch Godfathers, without Parents ſponſion: or at leaſt a denying them [*certainty of undoubted ſalvation*] when it was in the power of the Convocation or Prieſt to have given them ſuch certainty. 4. The Conformiſts do not affirm (that we know of) that any word of God doth inſtitute or command the uſe of ſuch Godfathers, or the foredeſcribed excluſion of the Parents, much leſs both: And leaſt of all that it maketh theſe neceſſary to Chriſtendom and Salvation, yea or Church-reception: But it is uſed as a Tradition or Law of men. 5. The Nonconformiſts therefore dare neither Aſſent to, Approve, Conſent to, Covenant, or Practice the refuſal of the Children of true Chriſtians from Baptiſm, the Church and Salvation, on ſuch a cauſe as this. 6. The Anabaptiſts hence are hardened, and ſay, that if Infants may be denied Baptiſm, till they have ſuch Godfathers as God never inſtituted they have no right to it at all, and they may deny it them till we prove God's inſtitution of Godfathers; eſpecially where their title is laid upon ſuch Godfathers.

thers. 7. Some ſay that *It is not the Miniſter that refuſeth them, but the Church which maketh the Law*: But others ſay, that it is both the Lawmakers, and the *Miniſter*, unleſs we could prove that *Baptizing* and judging whom to Baptize is none of the Miniſters office, no nor the Biſhops; but that the Prieſt is to baptize all, and only ſuch as the Law or Convocation bids him baptize, as a meer executioner, and the Biſhop alſo ſuch as he is appointed by the ſame Law. That elſe the ſame Rule would hold for his Preaching, Praying, &c.

X. The like proofs (which we need not repeat) will ſhew, that no Miniſter muſt baptize any perſon, Infant or Adult, without the tranſient Image of a Croſs, and that to this we muſt aſſent and conſent, and ſubſcribe to baptize in no other form.

2. And the ſame reaſons aforegiven ſhew how great a penalty this is, as excluding them from Chriſtendom and Salvation in the Churches judgment, or from certainty at leaſt.

3. Some Conformiſts ſay here alſo, that they aſſent only to baptize with the Croſs, but not to baptize no otherwiſe: But others of them reprove this expoſition from the Rubrick, and the aforecited Canonical Subſcription, as that which would leave the Prieſt at liberty to do almoſt what he liſt, when the Church thinks that they have obliged him, and his Subſcription hath ſecured his Obedience.

4. And ſome of them ſay, that it is not the Prieſt that refuſeth them, for he would Baptize them (with the Croſs) if the parent *ſent the Child* or the *Adult perſon came*. But we need not

ſtrive

ſtrive about the word: The *thing* we are agreed of, *viz.* That the Prieſt conſenteth not to Baptize them, who dare not receive it with the uſe of the Croſs: Whether this be to be called a *rejecting them*, or *denying* them Baptiſm, unleſs they will be ſo croſſed, we need not call for extraordinaty accurateneſs to judge.

5. No Conformiſts do pretend that this uſe of this Image of the Croſs, is of divine inſtitution: But all confeſs that *Baptiſm* is of divine inſtitution; and that Chriſt hath Commanded *Math.* 28. 19. 20. That they that are *diſcipled ſhould be Baptized*; and that one may be a *diſciple of* Chriſt, without the Image of the Croſs:

6. Some of the Nonconformiſts hold their uſe of the Croſs it ſelf here unlawful: But others that would venture to uſe it rather than be ſilenced, yet fear the guilt of *denying Baptiſm*, *Chriſtendom* and *certain ſalvation* (as the Church judgeth) to all that dare not receive it, or preſent their Children to receive it; believing that murdering natural life is a leſs hurt than undoing ſouls.

7. But *Covenanting by deliberate ſubſcription* and *declaration* to do it, how oft ſoever, they fear more than the actual doing of it rarely; not daring to do their part to damn the Children of all that are againſt Baptizing with the Croſs, nor all the unbaptized adult that are of that opinion.

XI. And as they fear rejecting ſuch as will not be ſo Croſt, from Baptiſm: ſo they much fear the *Engliſh uſe of the Croſs* themſelves; and that much more than Croſſing our ſelves on ordinary occaſions, or ſetting up Croſſes on our doors or Churches or by the high waies; and yet much

more than they fear such using of the Cross as *Augustine de Civ. Dei*, and other ancients mention, as an open Indication to Heathens that we are not ashamed of a Crucified Christ: Much less are they against civil uses of a Cross.

2. The name [*Sacrament*] signifying primarily any *solemnization of a Covenant by Oath and Ceremony* (as the *sacramentum militare* among the Romans) especially a Covenant which engageth one in a new relation, and more largely any *sacred mystical Ceremony*, the question here is *whether the Cross be not made* (not only a *sacrament in a larger sense*, as *ordination* and *Matrimony* may be called *sacraments*) but even a *sacrament of the Covenant of grace*, or so *very neer it* as to have the greatest part of that sacramental nature.

3. The Church Catechism defineth a Divine "sacrament thus, (*An outward and visible "sign of an inward and spiritual grace given to us, "ordained by Christ himself as a means whereby we "receive the same, and a pledge to assure us there-"of.*

4. That it be *ordained by Christ himself* is not essential to a *sacrament* in *genere*, but to a sacrament of *Gods making* in *specie* as distinct from one thats made by man; as is evident in the reason of the name.

5. The true nature of this Crossing is known by the Liturgy, 2. And the Canon. 1. The Liturgy appointeth it to be used *at Baptism*, not as a *part* of our Baptism, but as a *thing added*, immediately after the words [*I Baptize thee &c.*] even in our Covenanting with God: 2. It thus describeth and appointeth it, [*we receive*

"*this*

" *this Child into* the *Congregation of Chriſts flock,* " *(here the Prieſt ſhall make a Croſs upon* the " *forehead) and do ſign him with the ſign of the* " *Croſs, in token that hereafter he ſhall not be* " *aſhamed to confeſs the faith of Chriſt Crucified,* " *and manfully to fight under his banner, againſt* " *ſin, the world and the devil: and to continue* " *Chriſts faithful ſervant and ſouldier unto his lives* " *end, Amen.*

2. The Rubrick to which we Aſſent and Conſent, referreth us to the 30th Canon, as giving us *the true explication thereof, and the juſt* " *reaſons, &c.* The Canon ſaith [*Chriſtians ſigned* " *their Children therewith when they were Chriſtned,* " *to dedicate them by that badge to his ſervice,* " *whoſe benefits beſtowed on them in Baptiſm the* " *name of the Croſs did repreſent.*] *The Church* " *of England accounteth it a lawful outward* " *Ceremony, and honourable badge, whereby the In-* " *fant is dedicated to the ſervice of him that dyed* " *on the Croſs, as by the words uſed in the Common* " *Prayer it may appear.*

3. *The Liturgy's Preface of Ceremonies ſaith* " [*that they ſerve to a godly diſcipline, and are* " *ſuch as be apt to ſtir up the dull mind of man, to* " *the remembrance of his duty to God by ſome* " *notable and ſpecial ſignification, whereby he might* " *be edifyed.*]

4. We ſuppoſe that here 1. The ſign is the *tranſient Image of the Croſs uſed in Gods ſervice.* 2. The particular ſervice in which it is uſed, is our *Baptiſmal Covenanting with God* : 3. The thing ſignified by the ſign it ſelf is the *Croſs,* and paſſion of Chriſt. 4. The thing ſignified by the *Receiving of it* is, that we do as Covenanters

profeſs and oblige our ſelves not to be aſhamed to confeſs the faith of Chriſt Crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner againſt ſin, the world and the Devil, and to continue Chriſts faithful ſervants and ſouldiers to our lives end. And that by *this* we are dedicated to God; And that we take it as an honourable badge hereof. 5. Note that the *Miniſter* ſpeaketh as *Gods Officer from him*, and doth not repreſent the *Child*, nor ſpeak as *in his name*; that being the part aſſigned to the *Godfathers*; And the thing ſignified by him in his uſing this ſign is, that he doth as Chriſts Miniſter *dedicate him by this ſign, to the ſervice of him that dyed on the Croſs, the name whereof repreſents the beneſits beſtowed on him in Baptiſm*, (which are all the benefits of that Covenant) and to oblige him to this end, not to be *aſhamed* to *confeſs the faith* of *Chriſt Crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner* (as aforeſaid;) And that this be a *badge* or ſymbol of his Chriſtian profeſſion.

5. The great fear of the Nonconformiſts is, leſt this be a ſecond ſacrament of the Covenant of grace made by man added to Baptiſm, or at leaſt have moſt of the nature and uſes of it; And leſt Chriſt will take it as an invaſion of his prerogative ſo to uſe it, and to make a *new badge or ſymbol* of our Chriſtianity; As the King would take it ill of one that would without him, make a badge or ſymbol for his ſubjects as ſubjects, or of the order of the Knights of the Garter as ſuch. And the rather, becauſe it is the *uſe of an Image*, (though tranſient) in *Gods Worſhip*, and to ſuch high ends.

XII. The Rubrick which we muſt Aſſent, Approve and conſent to, *ſaith*, that [*There ſhall none*

none be admitted to the holy Communion, till ſuch time as he be confirmed, or be ready and deſirous to be confirmed,] that is, In the manner preſcribed by the Liturgy. This, as it concerneth the Conformity of the Lay-receiver, is ſpoken of before. But now as it concerneth the Miniſters Aſſent and Conſent. 2. Some that take this for a very uſeful paſſage, as it enableth them to hold back ſome uncapable perſons, dare not approve it, and conſent to it, as it denieth the Church Communion which Chriſt *giveth & commandeth*, to perſons of unblemiſhed uprightneſs and piety, if they will not profeſs themſelves *willing to be confirmed by our Biſhops* in the manner before deſcribed; though they are willing to own their Baptiſmal Covenant; and few in moſt places are confirmed.

XIII. The Liturgy ſaith, that [*No man ſhould come to the holy Communion but with a full truſt in God's mercy, and a quiet Conſcience.*] To which we muſt declare *Aſſent*, *Appprobation* and *Conſent*.

2. The ſenſe of theſe words remaineth dubious, whether it ſpeak *de neceſſitate præcepti, vel medii*: Some think that the meaning is, that it is the *Duty of all* that come to the Communion, to have a full truſt, and a quiet Conſcience: Others think that the meaning is only, that all ſhould *ſeek theſe*: Others think that tht meaning is, that *they ſhould not come without them*. Their reaſons are, 1. From the plain ſignification of the words: [*No man ſhould come but with, &c.*] which muſt differ from [*They that come ought to be ſuch*] 2. Becauſe the *neceſſitas præcepti* may be affirmed of *perfect obedience* ſince our uſe of reaſon: It is every mans duty not to ſin at all: And it is

every mans duty to believe, and love God, not only ſincerely, but with a ſtronger Faith and Love; and its every mans duty to ſeek after perfection: And yet no man will ſay that we ſhould not come to the Communion, but with high degrees of grace, or with perfection. 3. And the words are not that they *ſhould ſeek it*, but that they ſhould not come without it.

3. The Nonconformiſts confeſs that all men ought to have *a full Truſt*, and *a quiet Conſcience*: But they think that many 1000 good Chriſtians have but *a weak Faith or Truſt*, and an *unquiet Conſcience*: And that the Euchariſt is a *Confirming* and *Comforting Sacrament*, and that thoſe that have a *weak Truſt*, and *unquiet Conſcience*, ſhould come for ſtrengthening and comfort, and be encouraged to come.

4. Therefore ſeeing no entreaty will prevail with the Impoſers after ſo many years time to explain theſe, and many other ſuch words, they think that the uſual ſenſe of ſuch words muſt be the meaſure of their expoſition; and therefore they dare not profeſs Aſſent, and Approbation, and Conſent, till they are better explained to them.

XIV. The Liturgy requireth that the Prieſt deliver the *Communion to the people into their hands, All meekly kneeling.*

2. The 27th. Canon ſaith, [*No Miniſter ſhall wittingly adminiſter the ſame to any, but to ſuch as kneel under pain of ſuſpenſion.*

3. The Conformiſts differ among themſelves about the ſenſe of the Liturgy herein, *viz.* whether [*All kneeling*] include a prohibition to deliver it to any that kneel not: ſome ſay *No*: that it

it only bids them give it to ſuch as kneel, but not to deny it others, though the Canon do. Others ſay, yea that it requireth us to give it to no others. Their reaſons are 1. Becauſe elſe the precept ſignified nothing, if men were after it left at liberty. 2. Becauſe [*All*] plainly excludeth others. 3. Becauſe the Canon being the decrees of the ſame Church, expoundeth the Liturgy; and it is abſurd to ſay that their Rubrick leaveth the Miniſter at Liberty to do that ſame thing for which the Canon ſuſpendeth him. 4. Becauſe we muſt alſo ſubſcribe *that we will uſe no other form of adminiſtration, but that of the Liturgy*; which Reaſons we judge to be cogent.

4. The Nonconformiſts differ among themſelves about kneeling; ſome taking it to be ſinfully ſcandalous on the reaſons before given; and ſome taking it for lawful. But they commonly hold that it is ſinfull, cruelty and Schiſm for them as Miniſters to caſt any true Chriſtians out of Chriſt's Church and Communion of Saints, and to deny them the body and blood of Chriſt, which he hath commanded his Church to deliver and receive, on ſo ſmall a reaſon as this *not kneeling*: 1. Conſidering the three reaſons which are before mentioned as the cauſe of their doubt. 2. And that the Holy Ghoſt *Rom.* 14. commandeth both Paſtors and People to bear with, and receive each other, notwithſtanding ſuch kind of differences: 3. And that good mens judgments in ſuch caſes are not in their own power: 4. And that to tie Communion to ſuch doubtful Circumſtances will certainly cauſe Schiſm; and ſuch doings have long diſtracted Chriſt's Churches through the world. 5. And

Christ hath commanded all his true Disciples to live in loving concord and communion: But kneelers and not kneelers are his true Disciples: 6. And men must not be cast out of the Churches Communion even for gross and heinous sins, unless they add obstinate impenitency. Therefore they dare not Assent, Approve, Consent to, or Practice, this rejecting of godly Christians for not kneeling in the act of receiving, from those priviledges which Christ by his testament hath given them.

XV. By the Liturgy *every Parishioner* is to *communicate twice a year*, and by the Canon and statute to be compelled so to do: and the Churchwarden to present them that do not. And those that do not in a certain time, are to be *EXCOMMUNICATED*, and after laid in Gaol during life, unless they conform. To the Liturgies Imposition we must profess Assent, &c.

2. Not every Parishioner (yea in our experience not one of many) hath a full trust in *God's Mercy*, and a *quiet Conscience*, without both which they are not to come.

3. Many *good Christians* have so great a sense of their sins and unworthiness, that they *dare* not communicate till they are fitter: And some are so timerous and melancholy, that hearing the Liturgy threaten men to be given up to the Devil, and eat and drink their own damnation, if they eat and drink unworthily, it would drive them by fear into distraction should they take it, till they have better thoughts of their title and preparations; so that their dilemma is sad, when they are either to go to *Bedlam*, or to the common Gaol.

4. To

4. To ſay that all theſe doubting and timerous people *ſhould* be otherwiſe minded, and that this is *their errour*, is true, but as impertinent, as it is to tell all men that they ſhould *never ſin* or all ignorant carnall ungodly men that they *ſhould be wiſe and godly*: But to conclude that men ſhould receive the ſacrament, becauſe they *ought to be prepared*, though they *are not prepared*, is ſomewhat like telling the ſick that they ſhould work and eat, as they ought to have done if by intemperance they had not diſabled themſelves.

5. There are many among us who are conſcious of Infidelity, Atheiſm, Sadduceiſm and Hereſie, and ſome of many ſecret heinous ſins: ſome of theſe in their hearts deride Chriſtianity and the ſacrament; And the other are afraid of increaſing their damnation: But yet do not make known their ſin: But it is notorious that abundance of ſuch there be: And the doubt is whether theſe ſhould be compelled to the ſacrament thrice a year.

6. The Nonconformiſts hold, that to deliver a man, that ſacrament, is to deliver him the body and blood of Chriſt, and therewith a ſealed pardon of ſin, and guift of life eternal; And they think that the terms on which theſe are to be received, are [*wholly devoting our ſelves to Chriſt, denying all, and taking up our Croſs and following him.* And therefore that to ſay [*Receive the ſacrament, or lie in a Gaol*] ſeemeth much to alter the terms of the Goſpel, which ſaith [*If thou canſt not ſuffer a Gaol for Chriſt, thou art unworthy of him.* It is he that can forſake all for Chriſt, that is fit for the ſacrament, aud not he that would not Communicate without the fear of a

priſon

priſon or other puniſhment. To give the ſacrament, is to give more than all the riches of the world, which none but volunteers and deſirers are fit for.

7. The ancient Churches made delinquents long beg for ſuch great priviledges and gifts, knowing that to give them to thoſe that are unwilling, is to ſubvert the Goſpel. But they never ſaid [*Receive them or go to Gaol.*]

8. Were it but granted in *England* that the great *gift of Chriſts body and blood, and holy Communion ſhould be adminiſtred and received freely, that is, only given by and to voluntary agents and receivers*, it would heal almoſt all the Engliſh differences, between Epiſcopal, Presbyterians and Independents.

9. Yet the Nonconformiſts are not againſt the encouraging of Communicants by ſpecial favours, nor the prudent compelling of Ignorant men to *hear* the truth, nor the hindering of pernicious hereſies moderately. But the foreſaid compulſion of all Pariſhioners they dare not Approve.

XVI. The Miniſter according to the Liturgy is himſelf to give the Euchariſt to many, to whom the Nonconformiſts dare not give it: For they muſt give it thrice a year to all the Pariſhioners, except ſuch as are proved (to him that hath no power to examine them or witneſſes) to be in malice towards others, or to be in any ſcandalous ſin, and that but for that time, till they are accuſed and acquit, or ſtill permitted, *viz.* 1. They muſt give it to many that *conſent not to be any part of their charge*, nor take them for *their Paſtors*, but bid them deny them the Sacrament

ment if they dare, though they conſent not to the relation. 2. They muſt give it to multitudes of the *groſly ignorant*, who know not the eſſentials of Chriſtianity or the Sacrament, nor will come to them to be taught: When by fame, yea or perſonal knowledge, they know them to be ſuch, yet without proof (nor we think with proof) they cannot refuſe them. 3. It is known that Infidels and deriders of Scripture and mans Immortal ſtate, do ſwarm more among us. And yet they muſt all Communicate till we can bring proof of it againſt particular perſons: When few men that report it will accuſe their neighbours and prove the accuſation for fear of their diſpleaſure: 4. We muſt give it to all the ungodly that are diſmiſt by a Lay-Chancellour after accuſation, 5. We muſt give it to all that are *unwilling* to *receive* it, ſobeit they had rather take it than lie in a Gaol and be undone. 3. On theſe terms the Nonconformiſts dare not Aſſent, Conſent to and Approve the giving of it as is preſcribed. 4. It is confeſſed that compelled Receiving is not commanded by Chriſt, nor was uſed by the Church, for many hundred years, even after Emperours were Chriſtians.

XVII. The Liturgy requireth Miniſters at Burial, to uſe theſe words, importing the ſalvation of the perſon: [*Foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed Almighty God of his great mercy, to take to himſelf the ſoul of our dear Brother, here departed*] And [*We give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleaſed thee to deliver this our Brother out of the miſeries of this ſinful world*] And [*That we may reſt in him as our hope is this our Brother doth.*]

2. The Conformiſts are not agreed of the ſenſe of

of theſe words: One ſort of them ſay, that all theſe words import not the ſalvation of the perſon: But the reſt have more ingenuity, and confeſs that elſe the words are not intelligible, and that ſuch equivocation is not tolerable.

3. Some of them ſay that theſe paſſages are good, ſuppoſing Diſcipline well exerciſed; which if it be not, it is not the fault of the Liturgy. But others conſider that 1. We know that Diſcipline *is not ſo* exerciſed as they ſuppoſe: 2. And that theſe paſſages are not to be approved and uſed whether Diſcipline be ſo exerciſed or not: The meaning is not [*I approve of this where Diſcipline is well exerciſed.*] 3. It is known that the Biſhops will not have every Prieſt to be Judge.

4. The Canon (which is the work of the ſame Church) thus expoundeth the Churches meaning; Can. 14. [*All Miniſters ſhall obſerve the Orders, Rites and Ceremonies preſcribed in the Book of Common-Prayer, as well in reading the holy Scriptures, and ſaying of Prayers, as in adminiſtration of the Sacraments, without either diminiſhing in regard of Preaching, or in any other reſpect; or adding any thing in the matter or form thereof.*] (This alſo concerneth moſt of the caſes before inſtanced in, as Expoſitions of the Churches meaning.)

5. And Can. 68. its ſaid [*No Miniſter ſhall refuſe or delay to bury any Corps that is brought---in ſuch manner and form as is preſcribed in the Book of Common-Prayer*: And if he ſhall refuſe ---to bury *ſuch, except the party deceaſed were denounced excommunicated Majori Excommunicatione, for ſome grievous and notorious crime, and no man able to teſtifie of his repentance, he ſhall be ſuſpended by the Biſhop.*

6. The

6. The new Edition of the Liturgy increaſeth the exceptions thus [*The Office enſuing is not to be uſed for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicate, or that have laid violent hands on themſelves.*]

7. Note 1. That many children of good Chriſtians by ſurprize die unbaptized: 2. Many godly ſober perſons are excommunicated for ſome point of Nonconformity: 3. Some upright Chriſtians in phrenſies, melancholies and diſtractions make away themſelves.

8. Note, That Atheiſts, Infidels, Sadduces, Blaſphemers, Whoremongers, &c. ſwarm now among us, and we rarely hear of any one of theſe multitudes that are excommunicated; ſo that they are not *excepted.*

9. It cannot be denyed, that *exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis*: ſo that no other muſt be excepted.

10. It is known that all *England* conſiſts of all the Individuals, and all the people are all *England.*

11. We commonly Preach that without Faith and Holineſs none ſhall ſee God; and that Whoremongers, Drunkards, &c. cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

12. Therefore either we conſent to pronounce almoſt all ſuch to be ſaved (at a time when our words take the deepeſt impreſſion,) or elſe more *exceptions* muſt be made.

13. Some ſay that the *Excommunicable* are included in the *Excommunicated*; But the Canon and the expreſs words of the Liturgy, and the Churches abhorrence that the Prieſt ſhall be Judge, do ſo notoriouſly confute this bold aſſertion, that by ſuch ſtretches almoſt any thing may be ſaid or ſworn, and it ſhall not be known by authority, when, or how far any Subject is obliged by Covenants or Oaths.

XVIII. The

XVIII. The Liturgy requireth [*that ſuch ornaments of the Church and of the Miniſters thereof at all times of their Miniſtration, ſhall be retained and in uſe, as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament in the 2d. Year of Ed. 6.*

2. The Canon of the ſame Church expoundeth their meaning *cap.* 58. Thus [*every Miniſter ſaying the publick prayers or Miniſtring the Sacraments or other rites of the Church, ſhall wear a decent and comely Surplice &c.*

3. We ſuppoſe in the 2d. of King *Ed.* 6. The Cope, Alb and other veſtments were in uſe, which ſeem forbidden by the Common-Prayer Book in the 5th. and 6th. of *Ed.* 6.

4. The Conformiſts agree not of the ſenſe of this Rubrick, 1. Whether all theſe are hereby reduced or not. 2. Whether it forbid all Miniſters to officiate without a Surplice, or only Command the uſe of it, without an implyed penalty: But the words, and the forecited Canons ſhew that the Church intended an excluſion of all that will not uſe it: And we muſt ſubſcribe to adminiſter in no other form.

5. The Nonconformiſts differ about the Surplice; ſome taking it to be Lawful, and others to be unlawful: But they Commonly hold that Preaching Chriſts Goſpel is commanded by God, and that Miniſters by their ordination are obliged to do the work of that Office, and that Surplices are not commanded by God; and therefore, if a man miſtakingly ſhould take the uſe of the Surplice to be ſinful, he ſhould not therefore be *ejected and ſilenced*: And therefore they dare not declare Approbation and Conſent to the Rubrick

or ſubſcribed form in the Canon which implyeth this reſtraint.

XIX. The Damnatory ſentences in the Creed called *Athanaſius*'s, are to be Aſſented, Approved and Conſented to.

2. If they referred but to the Doctrine of the Trinity, and not to the particulars of that explication, it would not be excepted againſt: But ſome R. Reverend Conformiſts do profeſs that thoſe ſentences are *untrue*, and not to be approved.

3. But ſuch think that the Churches meaning is not to require us to *Aſſent or Approve them as true*, but only to *Conſent* to *uſe* them: And they prove it, becauſe the ſame Church requireth us to *Read* the Books of *Tobit*, &c. which have palpable untruths, and not to believe them to be true.

4. But that reaſon ſeemeth null and vain; 1. Becauſe the *Apocrypha* is no part of the Book to which we muſt Profeſs Aſſent, Approbation and Conſent, nor to which by the Canon we muſt *ex animo* ſubſcribe, that there *is nothing in it contrary to the Word of God.* But *Athanaſius*'s Creed, with thoſe damnatory ſentences, are part of that Book. Indeed the Liturgy requireth us to read thoſe Apocryphal untruths, but they are no part of the Book: 2. And it being not the ſenſe of the Liturgy, but of a Statute of Parliament, which we here doubt of, it ſeemeth inſufficient, if not impertinent, to tell us what is taken for the ſenſe of *the Church*; for the doubt is *What is the ſenſe of the Parliament*, which we can no otherwiſe know but by the *plain words*, till they will otherwiſe declare their meaning.

5. And indeed if the paſſages in *Tobit*, which ſome Reverend Biſhops call Lies (about the Angel's

Angel's saying, that he was the Son of *Ananias*, of the Tribe of *Napthali*, and the fishes driving away all Devils, that they shall never return) were *but to be read*, we know not how to approve of that Law, Calendar or Rubrick, that commandeth such reading of them. But yet that is much less than the Assent required to *Athanasius*'s Creed; which yet we take (save those damnatory sentences) to be the best explication of the Mystery of the sacred Trinity, which in so short a summe is extant in the Church.

XX. The Liturgy saith [*All Priests and Deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly, not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause. And the Curate that ministreth in every Parish-Church or Chapel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably hindred, shall say the same in the Parish-Church or Chapel where he ministreth, &c.*

2. The Conformists agree not of the sense of this; some think that the ordinary incommodities of such a commanded use, may pass as those *hinderances* or *urgent causes* mentioned in the exceptions: But the more plain and ingenuous dealers hold, that the *urgent causes* and *hinderances* here mentioned, must be somewhat *extraordinary*, and not any thing which is the usual case of most Ministers.

3. Cathedrals and some other Churches have many Priests and Deacons of whom one only can daily officiate in publick. And many are Chaplains in such mens houses as will have other free prayers used. And most Ministers have great and necessary work to do, which must all be left undone, while the Common-Prayer is said

ſaid over by them twice a day. They have Sermons to ſtudy, many Books to read, that they may be furniſhed with neceſſary knowledge for their work: They have abundance of ignorant pariſhioners to inſtruct, exhort or comfort; They have the ſick to viſit, the dead to bury, the Sacraments to adminiſter, families to govern, inſtruct and provide for. And many find free prayer from the immediate ſenſe of their caſe and wants, to be ſo profitable to them that they cannot ſpare it: All which and more require the the ſtricteſt improvement of every minute of their time: And if the Liturgy be read over by every Prieſt and Deacon twice a day, it is certain that much of theſe aforeſaid muſt be omitted. And it is a great part of our Chriſtian duty, when two good things come together, to chooſe that which *hic et nunc* is the greater; to chooſe the leſſer then being a ſin.

4. Therefore the Nonconformiſts dare not Aſſent, Approve and Conſent to the tying of every Prieſt and Deacon ordinarily to read over the Liturgy twice every day. And they are the more averſe to ſuch Approbation, by ſeeing ſo very few Conformiſts, Comparatively, to practice this themſelves; which ſheweth that they take it to be unlawful; ſeeing it is their judgement that our Rulers muſt be obeyed *in all* things which are lawful to be ſo done. And if they that make ſuch declarations of Approbation think it unlawful ordinarily to keep them, we may doubt whether it be lawful ſo to *make* them, as is required of us.

5. If God ask us why we did not teach our families, viſit the ſick, inſtruct ignorant neigh-

bours, ſtudy better for to diſcharge our Miniſterial work, that we might be men of knowledge, and ſuch like, the doubt is whether it will paſs for a good anſwer to ſay, we had not time, becauſe we muſt twice a day read the Common-Prayer.

XXI. Aſſenting, Approving and Conſenting to *all* things, even to all forms, orders, &c. includeth *the order of the Liturgy*. Two Rules of the *order of Prayer* are commonly acknowledged 1. The *nature and order of the matter* to be expreſſed. 2. The *Lords Prayer* as a directory delivered by Chriſt.

2. The Nonconformiſts that think that for the main there is nothing but good contained in moſt of the Prayers of the Liturgy; yet think that they are greatly *diſordered* and *defective*; neither formed according to the order of *matter*, nor of the *Lords Prayer*, but like an immethodical Sermon, which is unſuitable to the high ſubjects and honourable work of holy worſhip.

3. They have oft offered, whenever it will be well taken, to give in a Catalogue of the *diſorders* and *defects* of the Liturgy: Which yet they think it lawful to uſe, in *obedience*, or for *unity*, or when no better may be uſed: But not to *approve* of ſuch *diſorder*; as we do not *approve* of the failings of any of our own duties, though we are daily guilty of them unwillingly.

XXII. The Preface to the Book of Ordination ſaith, that ["*It is evident to all men diligently "reading holy Scriptures and ancient Authors, that "from the Apoſtles time there have been theſe "ORDERS in Chriſt's Church, Biſhops, Prieſts "and Deacons, as ſeveral OFFICES*; which are

are repeated oft in the Collects at Ordination: To this all muſt Aſſent and Conſent.

2. Some of us are conſcious that we have *diligently read the holy Scriptures and ancient Authors*, and yet three ORDERS and OFFICES are not evident to us.

3. We have great reaſon to believe that *Calvin*, *Beza*, and many more Reformers, *Blondell*, *Salmatius*, *Robert Parker*, *Gerſom*, *Bucer*, *Calderwood*, *Cartwright*, *John Reynolds*, *Ames*, *Ainſworth*, and multitudes of ſuch Proteſtants, did diligently read both Scriptures and Ancients: As alſo Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Biſhop *Edw. Reynolds*, and many ſuch, who thought that Scripture inſtituted no particular forms of Government: As alſo *Armachanus*, and many other Papiſts, who think that Biſhops and Prieſts do not differ *ordine*, but *gradu*, which the R. Reverend Archbiſhop *Uſher* ordinarily profeſſed: We cannot aſſert that none of theſe diligently read Scripture or ancient Authors.

4. But eſpecially when we find that even the ancient Church of *England* was of another mind, as is legible in the Canons of *Ælfrick* to *Wulfine* in *Spelman*, pag. 573. 576. which conclude that (in the old large ſenſe) there were *but ſeven Eccleſiaſtical Orders or Degrees, and that the Biſhops and Presbyters are not two, but one*: *Haud pluris intereſt inter Miſſalem Presbyterum & Epiſcopum, quam quod Epiſcopus conſtitutus ſit ad ordinationes conferendas, & ad viſitandum ſeu inſpiciendum curandumque ea quæ ad Deum pertinent, quod nimiæ crederetur multitudini ſi omnis Presbyter hoc idem faceret. Ambo ſiquidem UNUM tenent EUNDEMQUE ORDI-*

NEM, quamvis dignior ſit illa pars Epiſcopi.] 18. *Non eſt alius ORDO conſtitutus in Eccleſiaſticis Miniſteriis, &c. Et Leg. Canuti*, p. 551. *Paſtores vocamus Epiſcopos & Sacerdotes, quorum partes ſunt eruditione atque doctrina gregem Domini ſpeculari ac defendere*, &c.

5. And Dr. *Stillingfleet* hath proved by ſufficient evidence, that the ſame was the judgment of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and other Reformers of the Church of *England*. And it is the judgment of ſome of our Biſhops and Conformiſts now. All which we ſpeak not to ſhew which ſide we think to be in the right; but that the ſtate of the queſtion is, *Whether we can aſſent to this as true, and approve and conſent that it be uſed*, as is appointed, [*That it's evident to all men diligently reading*, &c. that *de facto* there were three *ORDERS* and *Offices* from the *Apoſtles times*.

XXIII. The ordering of Prieſts requireth the Biſhop to ſpeak to the people at the Ordination of Prieſts, calling them [*to come forth in the name of God, and ſhew what crime or impediment they know in the perſons to be ordained, &c.*] In *imitation* of the ancient Churches, when the Congregation over which they were ſet, had their voice in his election or reception.

2. The doubt is, whether ſuch a ſolemn invitation, as in God's name, be not too *vain* to be *Aſſented*, and *Approved*, and *Conſented* to, in a Church, where the people over whom he is ſet, never uſe to be preſent, nor invited to it, nor have any notice of it, or any call to meddle therein; being uſually many miles, and often many ſcore miles diſtant; nor any other people called to that work; and rarely any people there

there that have any knowledge of the man and his converſation.

XXIV. The Ordaining of Prieſts, and the Conſecration of Biſhops both uſe theſe words as concerning the Office [*Receive the Holy Ghoſt for the Office and work of a Prieſt, of a Biſhop, &c.*]

2. It is not doubted but that the Holy Ghoſt muſt ſet Paſtors over the Flocks; 1. By qualifying men for the Office, and making them deſirous of it: Both *Grace*, *Ability* and *Willingneſs* are of him: 2. By giving the Ordainers a diſcerning skill to know whom to ordain: 3. By giving the flock a diſcerning and a willing mind. We yet know not of any other Collation of the Holy Ghoſt, which Ordination can make. Nor know we that in any of theſe ſenſes theſe words can be well underſtood: For 1. *Grace*, *Gifts* and *Willingneſs*, are the *diſpoſitio recipientis* preſuppoſed: we ſee not how it can be lawful to ordain him that ſeemeth not before to have them; what elſe are they examined about? Nor know we that God hath given any power to the *Ordainers* now, by the laying on of hands, to make an ungodly man godly, or an unlearned or ignorant man to be learned or wiſe, or a man of ill utterance to have a better tongue, or an unwilling man to be willing. The Apoſtles had a miraculous power of giving the Holy Ghoſt for extraordinary works, and for abilities ſuddenly infuſed; and they did it: we never knew of any in our age that did it; and therefore ſuppoſe that they have no promiſe or power ſo to do. 2. And to give a diſcerning skill to the Ordainers; 3. Or to give a diſcerning or willing mind to the people, are neither of them a giving

the Holy Ghoſt to the Prieſt. The doubt is, whether this be not an abuſe of the words which Chriſt himſelf or his Apoſtles uſed, and ſo not to be aſſented to, approved and conſented to.

3. Yet is it not denyed, but that Miniſterial *Authority* is given by the ordainers as Miniſters, Deliverers or Inveſters: But *Authority* is not the *Holy Ghoſt* ſo called.

4. Nor is it denyed but that as Father, Son, and *Holy Ghoſt* do enter into Covenant with us as *Chriſtians* in our baptiſm, ſo do they with Miniſters, as ſuch, in their ordination-covenant: But ſuch a Relation to the Holy Ghoſt as the Miniſters future helper in his work, cannot well be ſuppoſed to be all that is meant by the words [*Receive the Holy Ghoſt*,] both Scripture and common uſe, taking them in another ſenſe.

XXV. This Oath in the Conſecration of Biſhops is to be taken by every Biſhop [*In the name of God Amen. I. N. Choſen Biſhop of the Church and See of N. do profeſs and promiſe all due reverence and obedience to the Arch Biſhop, and to the Metropolitical Church of N. and to their ſucceſſours, ſo help me God through Jeſus Chriſt.*

2. It is not pretended that any ſuch Oaths of obedience were inſtituted by Chriſt or his Apoſtles; or were uſed in the Churches for many hundred years, nor till the Papacy was riſing, which was furthered by ſuch Oaths.

3. They that ſuppoſe Biſhops to be ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles, cannot make them ſubjects to any other Eccleſiaſtical Rulers, without aſſerting that the Apoſtles were Governours over one another; which we find not that they do.

4. It

4. It was many hundred years before Arch-Biſhops had any Governing power over Biſhops, or exacted any obedience from them; being not *Epiſcopi Epiſcoporum* (as the Carthage Fathers in *Cyprian* profeſſed.) But were only ſuch as had the firſt ſeats and voices in the Synods.

5. The queſtion therefore is, whether ſuch Oaths, as neceſſary to a Biſhops conſecration, be to be Approved and conſented to?

XXVI. An Oath of Canonical obedience alſo is put upon all that are made Prieſts and Deacons: And Prieſts at their ordination muſt make this Covenant, that they [*will reverently obey their Ordinary, and other chief Miniſters, unto whom is committed the charge and Government over them.*]

2. The ordinary is not only the Biſhop, but alſo the Chancellour, Officials, *Surrogates, Comiſſaries, Arch-Deacons*, and all that are Judges in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

3. to obey them that are thus *de facto ſet over* us, is no leſs than to obey them in the excerciſe of that power which is given them as ſo ſet over us.

4. The doubt is, whether they that take any of them to be Uſurpers of an Eccleſiaſtical power, which indeed they have not (and can prove it to be ſo) ſhould ſwear or Covenant obedience to them as ſuch. *e. g.* It is commonly confeſſed by the Conformiſts that the true power of the Keys, of *excommunication* and *Abſolution* is appropriated by Chriſt to the Clergy: And yet our Chancellours being lay men, do decretively excerciſe that power. The queſtion is, may we ſwear or Covenant to obey them?

5. And ſeeing Chriſt never gave one Presbyter

the Government of others, as Archdeacons, Surrogates, Officials, &c. whether all the reſt may ſwear obedience to them, or Approve of and conſent to the uſe of ſuch Oaths? And divers Councils have condemned it as a dangerous practice for Biſhops to tie ſubject Presbyters to them by Oaths.

XXVII. Miniſters that live among the people have greateſt advantage to know the penitent from the impenitent.

2. But it is the foreſaid lay Chancellours, who uſually know nothing of them but by reports, that excommunicate and abſolve them. And the Pariſh-Miniſter muſt (as a cryer readeth a proclamation or ſentence of a Judge) openly read theſe excommunications and abſolutions.

3. Theſe excommunications muſt paſs according to the Canons, againſt all that ſhall affirm that [*there is anything in the book of Common-Prayer repugnant to the Scripture or any of the* 39 *Articles erroneous*, or any of the *Rites and Ceremonies ſuch as he may not with a good conſcience ſubſcribe to, or that the Government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Arch-Deacons and the reſt that bear Office in the Church of England, is repugnant to the word of God, or that anything in the form and manner of making & conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts or Deacons is repugnant to the word of God, &c.*]

4. The preſent doubt is whether a Miniſter who knoweth ſuch of his Pariſh to be godly, peaceable men, whom the Chancellour decretively excommunicateth, may both openly read and declare ſuch excommunications and alſo ſwear or Covenant ſo to do, in obedience to the Ordinary. And whether when he knoweth that a wicked impe-

impenitent man is abſolved, he may pronounce ſuch abſolutions.

XXVIII. The Oath of *Canonical obedience* ſeemeth to mean *obedience* according to the Canons: And he that Covenanteth to *obey his ordinary*, muſt be ſuppoſed to mean no leſs than [*According to the Canon Laws by which he is known to govern,*] and as Government thereby is excerciſed:

2. And if ſo, then there are more things in the Canons and preſent Government, which the Nonconformiſts dare not ſwear or Covenant to obey (beſides thoſe already named,) than we will now ſtand to enumerate.

XXIX. The Rubrick ſaith that [*the Miniſter who repelleth any from the Sacrament, ſhall be obliged to give an account of the ſame to the Ordinary within* 14 *daies after, at the furtheſt.*

2. If all that by groſs ignorance, Atheiſm, Infidelity, Sadduciſm, Hereſie, Schiſm, Drunkenneſs, Whoredom, Stealing, Malice, &c. are uncapable of the Communion be preſented to the Ordinary within 14 daies, no charity that is guided by knowledge of the common ſtate of the people, can think, that in *London* Dioceſs there would be fewer than many ſcore thouſands preſented at once. And in other Dioceſſes many ſcore hundreds at leaſt,

3. Some Miniſters dwell a hundred Miles or neer from the Biſhops. And the Biſhops are divers of them ſo much at *London* or abroad, as that it cannot be expected that all theſe muſt be preſented to the Biſhop himſelf, but to the Chancellours court, as is uſual.

4. The ChancellourſCourt is ſo far from moſt Miniſters

Miniſters in the Land, and the proſecuting ſo many when proof is demanded, will be ſo chargeable and take up ſo much time, as that it will undo many poor Miniſters, that have ſcarce enough to maintain their families; and it will take up the time which they ſhould uſe in the neceſſary labours for their flocks.

5. The Chancellour is a lay man to whom they muſt be preſented: And the iſſue will be but a lay mans *excommunicating* them, if obſtinate; or abſolving them: Which is not juſtified by the Biſhops themſelves.

6. At the ſaid Chancellours court things are managed as at a civil judicature: There is not that endeavour to convince ſinners by Scripture, and to draw them to true Repentance, by humbling evidence, intreaties and prayers for them, as ſhould be for the ſaving of a ſoul from ſin: But the charges of the court fees, and the fears of a priſon after excommunication, maketh it an unacceptable and as unlikely means to convert men as the ſtocks.

7. Therefore for a miniſter to preſent all his Pariſhioners to ſuch courts, whom he is bound to deny the Sacrament to, were but to make him ſeem their greateſt and cruelleſt enemy, and to render him uncapable of ever (probably) profiting them by his Miniſtry any more; and conſequently, greatly to promote their damnation and make them almoſt hopeleſs as to recovery. And if by this terrour they tell the Chancellour that they *Repent*, how little ſatisfaction is that to the Miniſter, that never ſaw, himſelf, any ſigns of their repentance.

8. The doubt is then, whether the uſe of this Rubrick

Rubrick may be Approved and Conſented to.

9. Eſpecially conſidering that all the Pariſh who receive not thrice a year, (of which *Eaſter* muſt be one *for them all*) muſt be preſented to the ſaid ordinary, and alſo all that come not to Church; By which means divers Pariſhes about *London* muſt have ſome 10000, ſome 20000, ſome 30000, ſome 40000, or 50000, that have no room in the Church, all preſented if this Law were executed.

XXX. We have reaſon to doubt whether the Act of Uniformity it ſelf be not part of the Books which we muſt ſubſcribe Aſſent and Conſent to; becauſe it is ſo ſaid in the Book it ſelf: The Contents of the Book are firſt named in general, and then this Act named among the Contents. Either it is part of the Contents, or it is not; if it be not, we muſt not aſſent and conſent to that falſhood (that it is;) If it be, O far be it from us that believe a God, a Judgment, and a life to come, and the ſacred Scriptures, to Aſſent and Conſent to that Act with all its penalties, ſilencing and ruining ſuch as conform not. One of us that was oft with the great, wiſe, juſt Lord Chief Juſtice *Hales*, hath heard him lamenting the Schiſms and diſcords of the Clergy, ſeriouſly ſay, that [*There was no right way to heal us, but by a New Act of Uniformity.*] (And hath his late Writings againſt laying Concord or Religion upon mens unneceſſary additions.) And the Reporter taketh not himſelf to be wiſer than him, nor meet to Aſſent and Conſent to ſuch a Law, conſidering the experience of theſe ſeventeen years, and the conſequents on mens divided and exaſperated minds,

upon

upon the Congregations, upon Miniſters and Families, and upon the ſtate and ſecurity of the Chriſtian Religion, and the Proteſtant Cauſe,&c. As to them that ſay that the *Act nameth the Book as diſtinct from it ſelf*; we anſwer, 1. So do the Titles of Acts of Parliament name the Act it ſelf as diſtinct from the Title, and yet we ſuppoſe that Title part of the Act. 2. The Book nameth the Act as part of its Contents, as is aforeſaid.

If we ſhould by miſtake think ſome of theſe paſſages to be unlawful that are not, or to have a worſe ſenſe than indeed they have, let theſe things be conſidered.

1. We judge as well as we are able; and whatever ſenſe another takes them in, we that ſo underſtand them cannot take them.

2. We judge of the ſenſe by the plain words; the force and ſtretch is not by us but by thoſe that conform and contradict our ſenſe.

3. The Law-givers will not otherwiſe expound their own words, after 17 years waiting for it under Compulſive Executions: Certainly if they would have us underſtand their words contrary to common uſe, they would rather tell us ſo after ſeventeen years time, than ruine us, and forbear ſo eaſie a means to heal the Churches.

4. Some of us ſo highly value the excellent Prælections of Biſhop *Sanderſon de juramento*, and his judgment, againſt taking and expounding Oaths(and conſequently profeſſions and promiſes) in a ſtretched or a doubtful ſenſe, and his Counſel to refuſe them, when the ſenſe is doubtful, if the Rulers or Impoſers will not expound them (though

(though they ſhould bid us take them in our own ſenſe;) with much more which he hath excellently ſaid to ſuch purpoſes, that we thankfully acknowledge that he hath much helpt for to fortifie us againſt the guilt of perjury, and falſhood, and prophaning the holy name of God, and deceiving our Governours by equivocations and falſe expoſitions, and ſcandalouſly tempting others to perjury, lying, or ſuch other ſins.

We take an underſtanding, ſerious (and if it may be *publick*) owning of the Baptiſmal Covenant in age to be of ſo great moment to the reviting of true Chriſtianity and the honour of Baptiſm and cure of Anabaptiſm, that it greatly grieveth us that we muſt deſpair of its effectual practiſe, when we meet with few that ſeem not to approve it. The words of a very Learned and Great Conformiſt Mr *Elderfield* of Baptiſm *pag.* 48. *marg.* We think worthy our recital.

"Upon ſcore of like reaſon (ſaith he) whereto, "and for ſuch after tryal, may have been taken "up in the Chriſtian Church, that examination "which did ſift the conſtancy or rather conſiſtency "of thoſe that had been taken in young, to "their preſumed grounds, that if they wavered "they might be known and diſcharged, or if "they remained conſtant, they might by im-"poſition of hands receive what the Commoner "name of that Ceremony did import, of their "faith (at leaſt a ſign of) *Confirmation.* "*Vaſquez* hath from *Eraſmus* (in the Preface to "his Paraphraſe on the Goſpels) a word of moſt "wholſom grave and prudent adviſe, that thoſe "who were Baptized young, when they begin "to write man, ſhould be examined, *an ratum*

"*habeant*

" *habeant id quod in Catechiſmo ipſorum nomine pro-*
" *miſſum: Quod ſi ratum non habeant, ab Eccleſiæ*
" *juriſdictione liberos manere*; in 3. *p. Thom. diſp.* 154.
" *Fo.* 2. *c.* 1. *ſect.* 2. If they did then ſtand
" to what their ſureties promiſed for them. If
" not they ſhould be diſcarded. Moſt neceſſary!
" and of unimaginable benefit! Such a ſcrutiny
" would ſhake off thouſands of rotten hypocrites,
" and purge the Church of many ſuch Infidel
" believers or profeſſours, upon whoſe dirty
" faces a little holy water was ſprinkled when
" they knew not what it was; but they no more
" mind the true ſanctification appertaining than
" the *Turks* or *Saracens* (who ſhall riſe up in
" judgement againſt their waſhed filthineſs,) or
" than thoſe of whom St. *Peter* [It is hapned
" to them according to the true proverb: The
" dog to his vomit, and the waſhed ſwine to
" wallow in the mire.] Such diſcipline of awake-
" ned Reaſon is that the world groans for;
" that men would become Chriſtians. O that
" the truth of faith, and power of true Chriſtian
" belief might be ſeen in thoſe that knowingly
" put the neck in Chriſts yoak.] So far he. See
alſo Dr. *Patrick* of Baptiſm. And of our ſelves
Mr. *Hanmer* and *Baxter* have written Treatiſes
only on this ſubject, to ſhew that ſuch true
Confirmation would be the moſt excellent means
to heal moſt of our enormities and diviſions.

And ſhall ſuch Jeſuits as *Vaſquez*, ſuch mode-
rators as *Eraſmus*, and Proteſtant Conformiſts,
and Nonconformiſts, all thus ſpeak for it, and yet
no hope? No wonder if a word or ceremony
that we diſagree in, can make our wound ſo ſad
as we have felt, when that which we in words

agree

agree for, and that not as a thing indifferent, but ſo neceſſary, cannot yet be obtained though we periſh. Dead Images of all good things, is but the laſt and moſt effectual means of deſtroying the life and real good: Dead ſhews and Images of good, are Hypocriſie; ſincerity is reality, ſeriouſneſs and life. We take our Baptiſm to be our Chriſtening, or the ſumme of the Chriſtian Religion: And it is but for men to *do that ſeriouſly at Age*, which they did in Infancy by others authorized (or others for them) which is the Converſion which we daily preach: And it grieveth us to ſee what multitudes, when aged, never ſeriouſly think either what they did or received in their Infancy; and how many hate ſuch a life as they have vowed, and yet think that they ſtand to their Baptiſmal Covenant. And till the Paſtors of the Church make a ſerious work of it, to bring all their Pariſhes to a ſerious underſtanding and conſideration of their Baptiſm, and a ſerious owning it, and renewing of that Covenant, we cannot hope that the people will be ſerious Chriſtians; or that men will not think that ſerious Anabaptiſts are better than Hypocrites that contemn their Baptiſm.

SECT. II.

The Second Part of the Matter of Conformity.

THE Firſt Part *de facto*, being contained in the Canonical Subſcription, and the Declaration, hath been opened: The Second Part is the

the caſe of *Reordination*. Either they that require *Epiſcopal Ordination* for all that were otherwiſe ordained when Biſhops were put out, do intend it a ſecond Ordination or not. If yea, then it is a thing condemned by the ancient Churches, by the Canons called the Apoſtles, &c. and by *Gregory M.* and others likened to Anabaptiſtry. If not, then they take ſuch mens former Ordination to be null, and conſequently no Miniſters to be true Miniſters that are ſo ordained, and not by Dioceſans; and conſequently all ſuch Churches to be no true Churches (while they take the *Roman* Ordination to be valid.) To ſpeak of the conſequences of this as to the nullity of Baptizings and Conſecration of the Lords Supper, &c. and of the taking of God's name in vain in the Office if it prove evil, would be to go further than the Matter of Fact.

SECT. XI.

The Third Part of Conformity.

THE Third Part of Conformity is the Subſcribing againſt the obligation from the Vow [*To endeavour any change or alteration of Government in the Church,*] with the *Oxford* Oath [*That we will never endeavour any alteration;*] and the Articles for our Prelacy; and the Ordination-promiſe, and Oath of Canonical Obedience before-mentioned, as to this point together.

2. Even thoſe Nonconformiſts that are for the lawfulneſs, yea the need and deſirableneſs of Biſhops,

ſhops, and Archbiſhops, have ſo much againſt this Subſcription, as that to avoid prolixity, we will forbear reciting the particulars, any further than to tell you, that while a thouſand or many hundred Pariſh Churches are all without any *particular appropriate Biſhops* (great Towns and Villages) when in *Ignatius*'s daies the Unity of each Church was known by having *One Altar*, and *One Biſhop, with the Presbyters and Deacons*. And *Jerom* defineth a Church to be *Plebs unita Epiſcopo*; and conſequently they are without the Diſcipline and Paſtoral overſight of ſuch Biſhops; and while all theſe Pariſhes are in the old ſenſe become *No Churches* (for *ubi Epiſcopus, ibi Eccleſia*) but only *Parts* of a Dioceſan Church: And while the old *form* of Churches, Presbyters and Biſhops is thus changed: And while one Biſhop hath now more work of Diſcipline (beſides Confirming and all his other work) than an hundred of the ableſt and beſt men can do; and ſo ſuch Diſcipline is neceſſarily undone: And while the Caſe is as if the Biſhop of *Carthage* had put down ſix hundred neighbour-Biſhops, and become the ſole Biſhop of all their Churches; or as if all the Schools in a Dioceſs have but one Governing School-maſter, who had power to judge what Scholar to receive, or to refuſe: And while the Keys are to be exerciſed by Lay-men, theſe will be unſatisfying things.

3. The Conformiſts are not agreed of the meaning of theſe Subſcriptions and Oaths; ſome think that they covenant only to *ſubmit* to them (though they diſlike them:) But others think that it is alſo to *approve* the Government. Some think that it is only *Biſhops* that they are bound

to: But others say, that the word *Ordinary* certainly signifieth more than Bishops, even Lay-Chancellours. And that the *forecited* Canon expresly nameth many others, even with an *& cætera*, [*the rest that bear Office*] And [*any alteration*] must needs mean more: as [*any alteration in State*] sure extendeth to more than not endeavouring to [*change Monarchy or the King himself.*] Some say that by [*not endeavouring*] is meant only [*not unlawfully endeavouring*] but not that *all endeavours* are forbidden, *viz.* not petitioning, speaking when called, &c. Others say that if exceptions had been allowed, the Law makers would have made us know it, and not have spoken universally: And that if you expound it of [*unlawful endeavours*] you leave all men at liberty to judge what is unlawful, and all Schismaticks will take the Oath or Subscription, because they hold their endeavours to extirpate Prelacy to be *lawful*. Some say that one may endeavour in his place and calling, to take the Church-Keys out of the hands of Lay-Chancellours, notwithstanding this Subscription and Oath. But others more ingenuously say, that the very *actual Government* or Keys being in the hands of Lay-Chancellours, if it bind us not against endeavouring to change these, it binds us to *nothing* that can be understood: And that if Subjects thus take liberty after *Universal Oaths and Promises* to make such exceptions, they reproach the Law-makers, as if in such tremendous things as these they knew not how to put their Laws in words intelligible, and of common sense: And they relax all such sacred bonds. Some say that in [*not endeavouring*] is excepted [*unless the King commission*

miſſion or command us:] But others ſay, that if the Law-givers would have had ſuch exceptions, they had wit enough to have put them in: And that if you leave it to men to except from univerſals, you cannot tell them where to ſtop: And that the uſe of the Oath and Subſcription is, that the Church-Government be taken for unalterable.

SECT. XII.

The Fourth Part of Conformity.

IV. THE Fourth Part of Conformity is the Subſcription againſt the obligation of the Oath called the Solemn Vow and Covenant. Corporations are conſtituted by Declaring, that *there is no obligation from it* to any one without exception: But Miniſters muſt only ſubſcribe that *there is no obligation on me, or on any other perſon, from the Oath, ---to endeavour any change or alteration of Government in the Church.*]

2. It is none of the Controverſie *here*, 1. Whether that vow was lawfully impoſed or contrived, 2. Nor whether it were lawfuly taken. 3. Nor whether part of the matter was unlawful. But ſuppoſing all theſe unlawful, 1. Whether all alteration of Church Government be unlawful? whether it be not in the power of *the* King and Parliament, to ſet a Biſhop in every Market Town: or to take the uſe of the Keys from Laymen: or to take down Archdeacons, Officials, Commiſſaries, Surrogates, &c? Whether all Reformation be out of the power of the King, or not to be deſired by the people?

Whether that which is *Lawful* may not be done by the Law makers, and be endeavoured by ſpeech in Parliament, or by petition by the people; Eſpecially if the King Command it? 3. Whether men be not bound by a *Vow* to that which is Lawful: much more to that Which is antecedently a duty?

3. The Conformiſts are here diſagreed among themſelves; ſome ſay that the *Vow bindeth not* becauſe it was *unlawfully impoſed*: But others better ſay, that this proveth no more, but that the *Impoſers* could not bind *me to take it by any authority of theirs*; And that if I had taken it *in ſecret without impoſition*, I had been bound by it: Els no private Vow ſhould bind. Some ſay that it binds not becauſe it was *ſinfully taken*: But others truly ſay that if Oaths bind not wherever men *take them ſinfully*, no wicked man ſhould ever be bound by Oaths or Vows, becauſe they uſually make them ſinfully by an ill end and intention, wrong motives, or ill principles or manner: Or at leaſt a bad man might chooſe whether ever he will be obliged: But all good caſuiſts agree, that if the *matter* be lawful the *unlawful taking* hinders not the obligation. A man that is Baptized with ill motives or intentions, is yet obliged by his Baptiſmal Vow. Some ſay that it binds not becauſe the *matter it ſelf* is unlawful. But its granted that it bindeth to no unlawful matter: Others therefore truly ſay that he that Voweth ſix things whereof three are ſinful, is not diſobliged by the conjunction of theſe from the other three that are Lawful: Els a Knave may keep himſelf diſobliged as to all Vows, by putting in ſome unlawful thing. Some ſay that

It

it binds not becauſe we were antecedently bound to all that is good by other bonds, and therefore not by this. But others truly ſay, that this is a moſt intollerable reaſon and would nullifie our Baptiſmal Vow, and all our ſacramental Vows renewed; and all Covenants that ever man can make to God of any duty. For *Gods own Laws firſt bind us* to *every duty*: But for all that our own *Vows*, Covenants and promiſes *ſecondarily* bind us alſo: And a man may have *many obligations to one duty*; Yea indeed the Covenanters ordinarily profeſs that they think not that a man ſhould Vow any thing to God but what God firſt hath made his duty. And they are againſt the Papiſts for making Religions and duties to themſelves which God never made: And therefore they profeſs that if ſome things in the Covenant were not their duty before, they would not think that they are bound to it now: And they profeſs that if they had never taken that Vow they had been bound to all that by it they are bound to: And therefore condemning that Vow doth no whit ſecure the Government of the Church (*e. g. Lay Chancellours uſe of the Keys*, or the *deſtruction of diſcipline*) from their Lawful endeavours to alter it. And they profeſs that ſeeing the King hath power to command them Lawful things, if they had Vowed any thing meerly Indifferent it would not have bound them againſt the Kings Commands; Becauſe it is not in ſubjects power, by Vows to withdraw themſelves from their obedience to authority. Some ſay that the Proclamation of King *Charles* the firſt againſt the Covenant null'd the obligation. But others truly ſay, 1. That it could null no

more than the *Impoſition* to take it, and not the obligation when it's taken, in *neceſſary* things: 2. That this is nothing to all them that took it *afterward*, and that when *Charles* II. had (though injuriouſly) been drawn to declare for it. Some ſay that it binds not becauſe men took it *unwillingly*. But others truly ſay, 1. that this would leave it in the power of a bad man to nullifie all Vows and contracts, by ſaying that he *did them* unwillingly: 2. That man hath *free will* and cannot be compelled: And a Vow of a thing Lawful to ſave ones life bindeth: Men muſt rather die than lie. 3. This would teach Subjects to ſay that they take all Oaths of Allegiance to the King unwillingly, and therefore are not bound. 4. Its true that no man that forceth another injuriouſly to a promiſe can *claim to himſelf any right* from that which was not free but procured by his own injurious violence or fraud; But *God* wrongeth none, and a *Vow to God* bindeth though procured by ſinful force by men. Some ſay that It was only a League and Covenant with men, and not a Vow, and therefore ceaſeth *ceſſante occaſione*, and by the conſent of Parliaments, &c. *Anſ.* There is no place for the belief of this objection to any that knoweth a Vow otherwiſe than by the name: Indeed an Oath that is but an appeal to God, that I will faithfully perform my Covenant with a man, obligeth me not when that man hath diſcharged me from any obligation to him. But this in queſtion was primarily a promiſe or *Covenant made to God* (which is a Vow,) and a League and Covenant of men with one another that they will perform it; as is notorious to any man that

readeth

readeth it with common understanding.

II. The second thing questioned about that Vow (and the main) is, whether every Minister must or may become the judge of *all other mens Consciences and obligations in three Kingdoms*, even of many thousands whom they never saw nor heard of, and that so far as to absolve or justifie them from all obligations by that Vow to endeavour any Church reformation.

2. It is here supposed 1. That though men ought to take an Oath in the sence of a *Lawful Governour* so far as they know it, yet that they are not bound beyond the plain meaning of the words to the sense of Usurpers: Therefore they know not but the King and Lords, &c. might take the same words in another meaning than the obtruders did intend; *e. g.* to *reform according to Gods Word and the example of the best reformed Churches* might signifie to them an opposition to Presbytery.

2. That if men mistake the sence of the Imposers, they are bound to *keep* an Oath in the Lawful sence in which they *took it*. And then how knoweth every Minister in what sense every man in the three Kingdoms took it? And how is he able to say that no one man of them all is obliged by it to endeavour a lawful and necessary reformation?

3. And as to the former Argument that men *were forced to it*, many of the Old Parliament are yet living, and many others, that then *forced others* to it, and were *not forced* to it themselves.

4 And if the present Parliament-men could (upon what compulsion soever) Vow to reform, *e. g.* scandalous Ministers, Swearing, Drunkenness,

Popery, &c. and then would command all Ministers on pain of silencing to subscribe that no man is bound to perform that Vow, this would not do them any service, but involve each Subscriber in the guilt of a multitudes perfidiousness.

SECT. XIII.

V. *The Fifth Part of Conformity.*

1. THE The Fifth Part of Conformity is the Subscribing of the said Declaration, and taking the *Oxford* Oath, as it concerneth *Civil* Government, *viz.* [*Is is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking Arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him.*] in pursuance of that Commission.

2. Here the Question is not of the first Clause, of *taking Arms against the King*; but only of the last [*against those that are commissioned by him*] the Ministers being mostly ignorant of Law, and not knowing what is called a *Commission*, and what seal maketh it such: For as they are satisfied that no true Legal Commission of the King may be resisted, so while the unexpounded words have no limitation or exception, they dare not think that a Lord Chancellour or Keeper hath power at his pleasure to depose the King, by sealing Commissions to any to seize on his Forts, Garrisons, Magazines, Treasure, Navies or Guards; nor yet to destroy the Kingdoms,

doms, Cities, Laws and Judgments, and ſeize at pleaſure on all mens eſtates or lives. And they dare not ſwear or ſubſcribe that which the generality of Learned men, Heathens, Papiſts and Proteſtants, Politicians, Lawyers, and Divines are commonly againſt, it being too great preſuming on their own wits to ſay or ſwear, that almoſt all the world are in the wrong (even men in their own profeſſion) and that yet they are wiſer than all theſe. An Oath therefore being to be taken *underſtandingly*, their not *underſtanding* this, cauſeth their refuſal; and it pleaſeth not the Law-givers to explain it to them.

3. But though this be a very important buſineſs, we are ſo unwilling to meddle with matters of our Rulers Power, as being leſs pertinent to our function, and the late debates in the Houſe of Lords (as ſome body hath publiſhed them) have ſaid ſo much in this caſe, that we think it beſt to ſay no more of it.

SECT. XIV.

VI. *The Sixth Part of Conformity or Obedience conſequently required of Miniſters.*

1. THE Sixth part of Obedience required of us conſequently is, that till we can do all aforeſaid, *We muſt deſert our former flocks, though they deſire us to continue our care of them, and that we give over our preaching the Goſpel of ſalvation to any but our families, or four more; and that no man not ordained by Dioceſans adminiſter the Lords Supper, &c.*]

2. The

2. The queſtion is not whether we ſhould give up the Temples and Tythes, and all publick Maintenance when ever it is required of us: Though St. *Ambroſe* would not obey the Emperour *Valentinian*, in giving up one Temple which he could ſpare, to the *Arrians*; yet the Nonconformiſts are of another judgment, and think them all in the Magiſtrates power: But it is the *Office*, *Relation* and *Work*, that they dare not renounce or ceaſe from, without a better diſcharge.

3. Yet they judge, that where truly there is no neceſſity of their labours, or they ſhould do more hurt than good by Preaching, it is their duty, when forbidden, to forbear: But not becauſe any will ſay, we are Judges, and it is ſo, when notoriouſly it is not ſo.

4. But this requireth a larger diſquiſition than we may here ſtay to make.

SECT. XV.

VII. *The Seventh Part of required Obedience.*

1. THE Seventh Part of the Obedience required of us, is that *we come not within five miles of any City or Corporation which ſendeth Burgeſſes to Parliament, or to any other place whatever, where we have ever preached ſince the Act of Oblivion*; except on the Rode or ſummoned.

2. Many Miniſters have their friends, houſes, and all that they have, in thoſe forbidden places.

3. The greateſt places being moſt populous have

have moſt need of Preachers, many ſouls being more precious than few, and the publick Teachers that have many thouſands, needing more help than they that have but little charges.

4. Few Miniſters are rich enough to be able to ſell their houſes and goods at loſs (when perhaps none will take them,) and to take houſes in other Countries.

5. A great part of the Land is ſeated ſo neer Corporations, that it is hard to find a place that is above five miles off them; And ſome Miniſters have Preached about in ſo many places, that it is hard to find a place within their reach, above five miles from the places which they have preached in: And in ſuch places, it is rare to find empty houſes, and Landlords that will let them on terms which they are capable of: ſo hard to them is this confinement.

6. They think that men can no more diſoblige them from preaching to many in Cities and Corporations, than to four or five in Villages; ſeeing the Churches of old were planted moſt in Cities, and Chriſt ſaith not, [forſake all the ſouls in Cities if they bid you,] but [*When you are perſecuted in one City fly to another.*]

7. Though we live not to eat, we muſt eat to live; and when Miniſters that have nothing, are like to beg or famiſh among ſtrangers in poor Villages, and bigger places do more call for help, and will allow them bread, they think it no ſin to eat bread any more than to give bread to others that are in want.

8. The former Laws ſend them when they are in beggery, to be kept by the Pariſhes where they laſt lived; and this Law forbids them to come within five miles of them.

SECT.

SECT. XVI.

The Adjuncts and other Matters agreed on, which affright the Nonconformists.

I. AS there are ſome ſins far greater, and more terrible to conſcience than others, ſo aggravating Adjuncts oft make them ſuch: And theſe here ſeem very frightful. We are not now charging any others with ſin, nor proving the unlawfulneſs of what we fear, but expreſſing the Matter of Fact agreed on, which doth affright us.

I. Both ſides agree, that it is a great aggravation of ſin to be done by a *Miniſter of Chriſt*, a perſon conſecrated to holy work, to preach truth and holineſs, and ſerve at the Altar: For our Doctrine will be the leſs regarded, and men will be tempted to follow our bad example, who are bound to be to them patterns of purity and obedience to God: And Chriſtian and Proteſtant Religion is moſt injured by *Miniſters* ſins.

II. It is agreed that our *Miniſterial ſins*, which we do as if they were part of our Office in the publick Aſſemblies, have a ſpecial aggravation differing from mens *ſecret perſonal* crimes.

III. It is agreed that Lying and Perjury are ſins of ſo heinous a nature, as that they tend to overthrow humane truſt and converſe, and all Societies, and deprive Princes of part of the ſecurity due to them for their lives and Crowns: And that in a Preacher of the Goſpel they are intollerable, tending to tempt the hearers to believe nothing that we ſay.

IV. It

IV. It is agreed that by aſſertion to abſolve thouſands of perſons known or unknown, and juſtifie them, if they ſhould prove guilty of ſuch a crime, and ſo to draw on our ſelves the guilt of many thouſand perjuries, would be a ſin of as heinous a nature as moſt we can imagine.

V. It is agreed by Proteſtants, that all Oaths, Covenants and Laws, muſt be underſtood according to the plain and uſual ſenſe of the words, unleſs our Rulers otherwiſe expound them, and tell us that they mean ſomewhat elſe.

VI. It is agreed that though Judges muſt determine of the ſence of Laws, ſo far as to decide the caſes that are brought to them; yet none can make an univerſal obligatory expoſition of a Law, to bind the ſubjects conſcience in underſtanding it, but the Sovereign and Lawgivers themſelves: Elſe a Judge might become a Legiſlator and fruſtrate the Kings Laws by his expoſitions. If Judgements be the expoſitors and preſervers of *Common unwritten Laws* which are *Cuſtoms*, it is becauſe it is the *Law-makers* or *Sovereigns* will that it ſhall be ſo.

VII. It is agreed by all Proteſtants that ſtretching the words of Laws, Oaths and Promiſes to meanings quite differing from the Common uſe of the words, without the direction of the Law-makers to do, and taking ſuch *Oaths or Covenants* with *equivocations and mental reſervations* on pretence of *Charitable interpretation*, for our own ends and intereſts, is more ſuitable to Atheiſts than ſincere Chriſtians, and would overthrow humane truſt, and the end of Laws and Princes ſafety, as well as other ſorts of perjury. For inſtance, if one take the ſubſcribed

Decla-

Declarations that [*Its unlawful on any pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King* and so on] and will thus equivocate, as they say some do; *viz.* [It is *unlawful*] that is, against the *Law of the Land but not against Gods Law*; [*To take Arms against the King*] *that is, as King*; but saith *Suarez*, and such others, when he is *excommunicate by the Pope he is no King*; [*On any pretence*] that is, say they, [*unjust pretence*] [*by his authority against his person*, and Souldiers] that is, say the equivocaters, [*Its well said that we may not do it by his Authority, but we may do it by the Law of nature and so by Gods Authority whose Law that is*; [*against any Commissioned by him*] that is, say they, *lawfully commissioned, and we are judges when his Commissions are unlawful*: So [*We will not endeavour any alteration of Government in Church or State*] that is, say they, 1. Not of *Monarchy*, or the King, but we may yet disturb any of his Officers: 2. Not of the Essentials of *Episcopacy*; but we may seek to take down their wealth and Lordships, and reduce them from Dioceſans to Parochial or Corporation Bishops: 3. Not by unlawful *means*; but we take not that to be unlawful which they do. What good will Oaths or Covenants taken with such Latitude or Equivocation do? Do they secure any of the ends of Governments? Rulers should abhor such Equivocations and stretching Latitudes as these.

VIII. It is agreed on both sides, that if we might go on this supposition, that our Rulers can require nothing that is *unjust or impious, or against the Law or Common good or their own interest*, and therefore that no *exposition is to be put on their Laws*

Laws or Impoſitions which is of any ſuch importance, by this rule *any oath or Covenant or promiſe* in the world which Governours ſhall impoſe upon us, may be taken: For we muſt put a *good ſenſe* upon them all: And the *ſenſe* is the *Oath or Covenant*.

IX. It is commonly agreed that a man may not deliberately tell one lie to ſave his life, or his Miniſterial liberty: And that if any one only of all the things impoſed on us be a ſin, it is the duty of all the Miniſters of *England* rather to ſuffer any thing, or to dye than to Commit it. And that if it be one mans duty to be ſilent in ſuch a caſe, it would be the duty of all the Miniſters in the Land, if the things be ſin.

X. And all are agreed that to ſilence all the Miniſters of the Nation, is a thing that God hath not given any man authority to do, becauſe of the neceſſity of their Miniſtry; and conſequently not to ſilence any neceſſary Miniſtry at all.

XI. It is agreed that Satan would fain corrupt States and Churches with the moſt heinous ſins, to expoſe them to Gods judgements and the enemies ſcorn: And that common Perjury or Perfidiouſneſs is one of thoſe greateſt ſins: And that as the Belief of the Truth is the beginning of Chriſtianity, ſo Satan is a Lyer and the father of Lies: And he that thinketh that Satan is endeavouring to ſtigmatize Perſons, Churches or Kingdomes with his brand of PER ſhould the more carefully avoid the receiving of that mark.

XII. It is agreed that God hath within theſe fourteen years excerciſed very grievous Chaſtiſements on Cities and Corporations, by ſuch a Plague (on *London* and many Corporations) and ſuch fires on *London*, *Southwark* and many Corpora-

porations) and ſuch increaſe of Poverty, (though we have more liberty at Sea and Land for trade, than almoſt any Nation neer us) as that the like hath not been known in our forefathers daies: And that if this ſhould be the Voice of Chriſt, as a reproof of our perfidiouſneſs, and perjuries, ſaying(*except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh,*) it would leave the impenitent without all juſt excuſe.

XIII. It is agreed by us all, that God will not hold him guiltleſs who taketh his name in vain; eſpecially by perjury or falſe Vows or Covenants; And that for *Oaths* (broken) the Land may mourn: And that he is the grand enemy of Church or Kingdomes, who would by ſuch ſin bring them under the judgments of God: And, as *Achan*, bring in an accurſed thing.

XIV. None can deny that it is better to cheriſh *honeſty and conſcience*, eſpecially about *Oaths and Covenants* which ſecure Converſe and the lives of Princes, than to teach men to *ſtretch Conſcience* in ſuch matters; and to make every *ſeared Conſcience* capable of the *holy Miniſtry, preferment and honour*; and a *fear of ſuch ſin*, to be the way to ſilence and ruine.

XV. we agree that when Jeſuites and other Papiſts have contracted the ſhame of equivocation and perfidiouſneſs, Proteſtants ſhould not partake with them, and take the ſhame on their religion,

XVI. It is agreed that when the *Scots Covenant* is ſo greatly decryed, and the *violation* of the *Oaths of Allegiance* and *other Oaths* and *Covenants* was found neceſſary to the killing of the King, and other late confuſions and iniquities, we ſhould not after ſuch warning either

either inſnare men in unneceſſary Oaths & Covenants, nor harden ſuch men againſt Repentance, by doing any ſuch thing our ſelves, much leſs by commanding it.

XVII We are agreed that to commit a ſin by paſſion or ſudden ſurprize, is not ſo wicked as to do it on deliberation: Nor is the doing it only ſo bad, as undertaking to juſtifie it, and encourage others to do the like.

XVIII. We are agreed that God is jealous about holy things, and that wilful corrupting his Church, worſhip or diſcipline, to the diſgrace of religion and encouragement of wickedneſs is a heinous ſin: Eſpecially to Approve ſuch things.

XIX. We are agreed that to make a deliberate Covenant that I will ſin againſt God, and to ſubſcribe and declare this, is a heinous aggravation of the ſin: *e. g.* When the high places were kept up in *Judea* if any had Covenanted to keep them up, and *purpoſed* to tranſgreſs, the wilfulneſs had been the greatneſs and dangerous ſignification of ſuch ſinning.

XX. We are agreed that *Repentance* is Gods condition of forgiveneſs; and that for a man to *reſolve and Covenant to ſin* and to *profeſs it openly* to all the Church, and that *oft times*, and ſo to *renounce Repentance*, is---alas---

XXI. Moſt ſober Chriſtians are agreed that Chriſtians ſhould be united upon the terms which Chriſt himſelf hath made in the baptiſmal Covenant, and in their obedience to his Laws; and that Papall Uſurpations and impoſing of things unneceſſary as neceſſary to Union, Communion or Miniſtration, hath been the great cauſe of Schiſms through the Chriſtian world,

for about 1000 years at leaſt: And that they who will ſtill obey ſuch dividing Impoſers, do continue Schiſms in the world by encouraging the cauſes of them.

XXII. We are on both ſides agreed, that it were heinous hypocriſie, and prophaneneſs, if we ſhould make our ſacred Miniſterial work the pretended reaſon for our ſinning, and ſhould ſwear, declare or ſubſcribe that which we take to be falſe, and do that which we take to be ſin, that we may have leave to preach againſt ſin in others; and ſo offer God a Sacrifice of iniquity, and put a beam into our own eye that we may have leave to Preach againſt the mote that is in our brothers eye.

XXIII. We are afraid of making Separatiſts and Anabaptiſts, and tempting men to avoid us, as ſcandalous men.

XXIV. We are afraid leſt by ſuch wilful ſin, we ſhould by a carnal intereſt, to defend what we have once done, be tempted to impenitence, and to perſecute the juſt.

XXV. We are agreed that they that will run into willful heinous ſin, as they deſerve to be forſaken of God, ſo they cannot expect ſuch a bleſſing on their Miniſtry, as Conſcionable upright men may do.

XXVI. It is agreed that the ancient Chriſtian Paſtors Preached againſt the will of Princes for 300 years; and after that againſt the will of Chriſtian Princes (*Conſtantius, Valens, Theodoſius Junior, Valentinian*, &c.) And not only Apoſtles ſaid, that God was to be obeyed rather than men, but ſuch as *Timothy* who was ordained by man, were charged before God and the Lord Jeſus

Jeſus Chriſt who will judge the living and dead at his appearing and Kingdom, to preach the Goſpel and be inſtant, in ſeaſon; &c.

XXVII. We are agreed that the Children of Chriſtians, when they grow up, know no more of God, of Heaven, of Chriſt, without *teaching*, than the Children of Heathens do: And therefore that the opening and applying the Goſpel is needful in *England* as well as in *America*.

XXVIII. It is ſo far from ſaving unbelievers or ungodly perſons, that they are the Children of Chriſtians, and in the viſible Church. that it maketh their caſe more miſerable; if not worſe than that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*.

XXIX. As of old every ſingle Church had uſually many Presbyters and Deacons with the Biſhop, ſo it is undeniable that many of our Pariſhes have work enough for many Miniſters, and only want of maintenance is pretended for our preſent paucity (with the want of worthy men.)

XXX. It is granted us, that to alienate conſecrated perſons from the holy Miniſtry cauſleſly, is greater Sacriledge than to alienate conſecrated Lands, Goods or Temples, which are but means to the uſe of the ſaid Miniſtry. We are not here accuſing our ſilencers of this heinous Sacriledge: Their Righteous Judge and ours, will quickly paſs the final ſentence: But we dare not, we will not ſacrilegiouſly ſilence and alienate our ſelves, leſt we forſake our Lord, and betray mens ſouls, and be doomed as the ſlothful ſervant that hid his talent, *Mat.* 25. and bring down more plagues upon the Land: We fear when we read 1 *Theſ.* 2. 15, 16. the ſigns that wrath was come to the utmoſt on the Jews; even their forbidding men to

preach the Gospel of salvation, lest we should contribute to such a dreadful desertion of this Land.

SECT. XVII.

The Case of the Ministers since they were silenced, and their Practice (with the Peoples.)

WE humbly crave of those narrow Seers, who venture to censure the generality, for somewhat which they dislike in some persons that are neerest to themselves, that they would truly understand the case and practice of their Brethren, before they any further in Sermons and Writings provoke the Magistrate to execute the Laws upon them, as Schismaticks, Seditious, or what accusation is readiest at hand.

I. That the elder sort of the Nonconformists are ordained by Bishops, and most of the rest by such Pastors of Churches, of Cities, Corporations and other Parishes associate, as the times then allowed; and that in this Ordination (be the Ceremonious part right or wrong) they are all by Consent or Covenant devoted to the sacred Ministry, and that not for a time, as hirelings, but for life: this is denied by none that we know of.

II. It is known to all Faithful Ministers and others, who converse with the common sort of men, that a great part of the people of *England* are ignorant of the very Essentials of Christianity, and a great part dull and worldly neglecters of all serious religiousness; and a great part sensual, drowned in filthy fleshly sins: Besides the ignorance, weakness, and unwarrantable opinions

opinions and paſſions of many that are more ſeriouſly religious than the reſt. And that it is a hard work to cure *one* ignorant, erroneous, vitious ſoul: And each one is precious, and not to to be left in ſin as deſperate; conſidering the everlaſting conſequents.

III. It is certain that moſt great Pariſhes, eſpecially in Cities and great Towns, have more ſouls which call for *Miniſterial help*, than Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts, if they lovingly joyned, are able well to afford neceſſary help to.

IV. The Miniſters that dwell in Cities or Corporations, when they were caſt out, did quietly ſurrender Temples and Tythes: But many of their people claimed the continuance of their Relation and Miniſtry; and many profeſſed that they could not truſt their ſouls to the Paſtoral guidance and care of many of thoſe who were placed in the Temples in their ſtead; and charged the neglect of their ſouls on ſuch as refuſed.

V. The Bills of Mortality ſhew us that the 7 Pariſhes within the walls of *London* are not the ſeventh part of the whole, including all the outer Pariſhes: And of the 97 there were very few Churches left unburned; and there are but few that are yet built up; and inſtead of many, there are ſmall Tabernacles, and inſtead of others nothing: And the outer Pariſhes are moſtly ſo great, as that the Temples will hold but a ſmall part of the people: It is conjectured by the Inhabitants, that in *Martins* Pariſh are about threeſcore thouſand ſouls, and in *Stepney* and *Giles's Cripplegate*, each about fifty thouſand, and in *Giles's* in the Fields between 20000 and 30000, and in *Clements Danes*, *Margarets Weſtminſter*, *Andrews*

Andrews Holborn, *Sepulchres*, and the Churches in *Southwark*, at *Aldgate*, *White-Chappel*, *Shoreditch*, and divers others, there are in ſome ſix times the number that can hear in the Temples, in ſome more, and in others not much leſs. And in moſt Churches the Preachers voice will not extend to above two thouſand, if more can come in. So that take one with another, and it is conjectured that it is not above the ſeventh or eight part of the Inhabitants that can come to hear in the outer Pariſhes: And if the other ſix or ſeven parts ſhould ſeek for room in the emptier Churches of other Pariſhes within the walls, it cannot be ſuppoſed that above one part of theſe ſix or ſeven would find room: So that all ſet together, there is ſuppoſed to be place but for about the fifth, or fourth part at moſt, of all the people within and without the walls: And *London* is to be denominated rather from three, four or five parts, than from *One* of theſe: And we all agree, that the famouſeſt and happieſt City for Religion in the world ſhould not be left to turn Infidels, Pagans, Atheiſts, or to be kept from all publick Worſhip of God. And it muſt be conſidered that the great Pariſhes where one of twenty cannot hear, are far off from the Churches that have room; and that ſuch perſons cannot eaſily know before-hand what Churches have room, and where to ſeek it: And that thoſe that have moſt need, have leaſt deſire, and when they cannot be taught near home, will rather ſtay at home, or in the ſtreets, or Ale houſes, than go far to ſeek room in the Alleys of other Churches. And it's known that by this means Papiſts have got opportunity of ſeducing

cing multitudes, and many get them to baptize their children. And whereas it is ſaid that ſome may go one day, and ſome another; it is anſwered, 1. That if they did go half the families by turns, ſtill the greater part would be ſhut out. 2. It is all, that are bound by God conſtantly to hear and worſhip him. 3. And thoſe that moſt value it will ſtill croud in, and keep out the reſt, and will not bargain away their own duties and benefits for other mens ſakes: Nor can Pariſhes come to agree upon ſuch a bargain.

VI. Experience aſſureth us that men are not uſually brought to knowledge, repentance, faith and holineſs, by the Goſpel *ex opere operato*, or as by a charm; but as an apt morall cauſe; And that the Preaching of judicious, convincing, ſerious, affectionate Miniſters hath incomparably more ſucceſs, than the affected language, or dull reading ſpeeches of injudicious novices or wordly formaliſts or hypocrites: God uſually worketh according to the morall aptitude of the means (though not alwaies.)

VII. It cannot be denyed but that the number of raw cold, dry, yea and ſcandalous Miniſters, in many Counties of this Kingdom is too great: And the more ignorant and bad the people are, the abler Miniſters, and more diligent do they need: And thoſe people who feel what profiteth their Souls, will not take up with cold, uneffectual teaching, if they can have better.

VIII. He that hath no Preacher but a Reader in his pariſh, is by the Church Laws forbidden to refuſe his Miniſtry, and all ſuch are forbidden frequent going to other pariſhes, communicating in them: what want ſoever they have at home.

IX. The Nonconformists that do but affirm any thing in the Liturgy, Ceremonies, Articles, Government, &c. to be unlawful, and such as they may not subscribe to, are by the Church Laws excommunicate *ipso facto*: And all that dare not take the Sacrament kneeling, are to be denyed the Communion of the Church; And all that dare not submit their Children to be baptized by the foredescribed undertaking of Godfathers, and to receive the Cross as a dedicating badg of Christianity, must not have their Children Christened; And all that dare not commit their souls to the *Pastoral Guidance of ignorant readers*, or other men whom they think by their *unskilfulness, unsoundness, averseness to a holy life, strangers to intimate cases of conscience*, or notorious *negligence and sloth, or non-residence*, to be unmeet for them to trust themselves to, in so great a matter, in which their salvation is so much concerned, and so dare not take the Sacrament from such as their Pastors, all these are forbidden Communion with any other Parish Churches by the Canon, and all Ministers forbidden to receive them. And if they dare not say that they *are willing to be confirmed* (in the *English* mode) they must no where be admitted to communion: And being excommunicate, must not be buryed according to the Church-Office when they are dead; so that they are cast out of the Church, before they Congregate in other Assemblies.

X. In this case the Nonconformists are not agreed what to do: One part and the far greatest say, 1. We will forbear affirming the unlawfulness of any of the foresaid impositions, till we are called to speak out: And because the case of these

theſe times calls us often to it, we will do it as privately and modeſtly as we can: 2. And though we are *excommunicated ipſo facto*, yet we are not *bound* our ſelves to execute their ſentence; but may ſtay in Communion till they prove the fact and do the execution on us themſelves by refuſing us: And this we take to be the moſt peaceable way: But others ſay, That though in ſome caſes for peace this way may be taken, yet ordinarily we are not bound to ſeek and expect Communion with that Church which hath already thus excommunicated us; eſpecially when all the Miniſtry ſubſcribe and declare their Conformity to the Church orders, and ſwear Canonical obedience to the Ordinaries, and are themſelves to be ſuſpended if they give us the Communion: We muſt not, ſay they, ſtrive againſt their Laws, nor ſeek that Miniſters ſhould be perjured, falſe to their promiſes and profeſſions to admit us to Communion againſt their Laws: Nor can any Church that firſt excommunicateth us, call us Schiſmaticks for not communicating with them, unleſs they prove that we give them juſt cauſe to excommunicate us. Here it is ſuppoſed that the Reader underſtandeth that [*to be excommunicated ipſo facto,*] *is ſine ſententia*, without any need of a Judges ſentence, *to be actually excommunicate upon our fact done*, ſo that the bare proof and notice of the *fact is* enough to warrant the execution (Though a Judge *may* alſo paſs a *ſentence* if he ſee cauſe,) *vid. Calv. Lexic. Jurid.* And others commonly. There are ſome others that go further, and think it unlawful to have Communion with the Pariſh Churches, becauſe they thus excommunicate us firſt, without more

cauſe,

cauſe, and becauſe they take the Paſtors to be ſcandalous by the foreſaid Oaths, Declarations and ſubſcriptions, and thoſe that have not the peoples conſent, to be no true Paſtors. But theſe are herein diſowned by the moſt; and very few Miniſters are of their mind that we know of, though many of the people much incline to it; eſpecially they that live where the Prieſts are ignorant, ſcandalous, ſlothful, or malignant; becauſe *Paul* ſaith, [*With ſuch, no not to eat*] But others tell them that 1. It is not the Pariſh-Miniſters that made the excommunicating Laws: 2. And if they ſin themſelves, it is ignorantly: 3. And we have not a call and opportunity to hear and judge them.

XI. Even thoſe called Independents hold (if Mr. *Ph. Nyes* Manuſcript to that end may tell us their minds) that it is lawful to hear the publick Pariſh Miniſters, becauſe the Magiſtrate may ſet Teachers over the People, and require them to hear them: Though they hold that the People ſhould chooſe their Paſtors, and that the Sacraments ſhould be adminiſtred and received freely, and not by force. Yea ſuch Anabaptiſts as Mr. *Tombes* (as is viſible in his Book) hold that Communion with the Pariſh-Church is lawful, in the Word, Prayer, and Lords Supper.

XII. We commonly hold that men unjuſtly excommunicated, are not thereby diſobliged from publick worſhiping of God, and living under Paſtoral overſight and Church-diſcipline, nor are bound to endanger their own ſalvation by neglecting ſuch duties, and loſing ſuch helps and priviledges; and therefore muſt be of ſuch Churches as they can, if they cannot be of ſuch as they would,

would, or as are allowed by the Magiſtrate.

XIII. It is not in the power of our ſelves to eſcape ſuch excommunications: For we are not able to change our own underſtandings, ſo far as to hold every thing before named, to be lawful: Some of us are able to ſay that we have with a willingneſs to ſee the truth, ſtudied the caſe of the old Conformity above forty years, and the caſe of the New-conformity now above ſeventeen years, and read almoſt all that hath been written for them, which we thought might add to our information, and prayed earneſtly that God would not ſuffer us to erre; and the longer we ſtudy it, the more we are confirmed: In this caſe we ſuffer publick and private obloquy and reproach, and not only theſe ſeventeen years the loſs of all Miniſterial Maintenance, but the danger of 40 *l.* a Sermon, and impriſonment in common Gaols, and the ruine of our eſtates and health: And in reaſon its as eaſie to think that they that hold their opinion on ſuch terms, are like to be as impartial in their ſtudies, as they whoſe way leadeth to preferment, wealth and honour; of which we were capable of a part: We ſay therefore again, that to *Conform*, or prevent the *Canons Excommunication ipſo facto*, is not in *our power*. And they that ſay, God will not condemn men for that which they were not able to avoid or help, ſhould not do otherwiſe themſelves.

XIV. When the 1800 or 2000 Miniſters were ſilenced, the far greateſt part of them forbore all publick Preaching, and only taught ſome few in private, at ſuch hours as hindered not the publick Aſſemblies, and many of them lived as private men.

XV To

XV. To this day it is ſo with many of the Nonconformiſts: Thoſe that live where they find ſmall need of their Preaching, or elſe have no call or opportunity, and cannot remove their dwellings, do hold no Aſſemblies, but as other men content themſelves to be Auditors. Thoſe that live where are godly and peaceable Miniſters in Publick, who yet need help, do lead the people conſtantly to the Pariſh-Churches, and teach them themſelves at other hours, and help them from houſe to houſe: This is ordinary in the Countries, and even in *London*, with many Miniſters that hold no Aſſemblies; yea many that were ejected out of City Pariſh-Churches.

XVI. Thoſe called Independents do keep up ſuch Churches as they had gathered before; when none of our preſent oaths, declarations, ſubſcriptions or practices were impoſed on them; which is not therefore to be taken as new.

XVII. As to the reſt, it was the great and terrible Plague in 1665. which made this change in their Aſſembling and Miniſtration. When the publick Miniſters forſook the City, and the rich left the poor to miſery and death, and people lookt every day for their laſt; when they that heard a Sermon one day, were buried the next; when death had awakened the people to Repentance, and a regard of their everlaſting ſtate, divers Nonconformable Miniſters reſolved to ſtay with them; They begg'd money out of the Countries for the poor, and relieved them: They got into the empty Pulpits, and preached to them: And when Preachers and Hearers lookt every day for their laſt, it is eaſie to conceive that there was ſerious Preaching, and ſerious Hearing: By this

many

many that died were helpt in their preparations; and through God's great mercies, multitudes that ſurvived, repented and became the ſerious ſeekers of a better world. The men that did this were moſtly unmarried, and could eaſilier venture their own lives, than ſuch as had families; and ſome of them that had families, yet truſted God, and moſt did ſcape. We know but of one (pious *Germane* Miniſter that died of the Plague in the City (and one of another Diſeaſe, if not through want) and two that fled from it in the Country.) And when God had bleſt theſe mens faithful labours with the converſion of many ſouls (eſpecially Apprentices and young people) the experience ſo engaged their mutual affections, that the Miniſters reſolved that they would live and die in ſuch ſervice as God had ſo bleſſed and preſerved them in; and their hearers reſolved that they would not forſake their Teachers: And thus the dreadful Plague began that which ſo much now offendeth men, as a dangerous Schiſm.

XVIII. And when ſome men out of exceſſive caution, were ready to think that when that Plague was ceaſed (having killed about an hundred thouſand) the Miniſters ſhould lay by that publick work, and retire again into ſecret corners, God confuted them by his next dreadful judgement, burning down the City the next year, 1666: So that there were neither Churches to go to, nor Miniſters in the Pariſhes to Preach, nor rich men to maintain them: And could any ſoul that hated not Chriſt and mens ſalvation, have wiſhed the Nonconformiſts then to deſert the miſerable people. When they newly came from

from under the terrour of such a dreadful Plague, and when success and Gods protection had so greatly encouraged them, and when presently they were deprived of their worldly treasure, and had not houses, or goods, or mony, but thousands utterly ruined in the world, and crept into holes and lived in poverty, when it was a wonder that they dyed not by hundreds of famine, and when such a sight as *London* in its ruines was before mens eyes, (which he that saw sure can never forget,) If then men, because that the Bishops or Parliament forbad them, should have refused to Preach the Gospel of Christ, and to teach men to lay up a treasure in Heaven, and to comfort such a ruined City, what excuse would such unfaithfull servants have had at the bar of their great Judge?

XIX. These two great and notorious necessities succeeding in those two dreadful years 1665 1666. calling the Nonconformable Ministers out of their retirements, and latitant and silent state, resolved them to serve God more diligently and openly than they had done, whatever it cost them: And many Country Ministers were awakened to the like by the examples of those in *London*: Though yet a great number who are in places of less need, or not called out as aforesaid, still lie much silent.

XX. WHILE THE DREADFUL FIRE WAS WASTING LONDON and OTHER CORPORATIONS, THE PARLIAMENT and BISHOPS WERE AT OXFORD MAKING AN OATH TO DRIVE ALL NONCONFORMISTS ABOVE FIVE MILES FROM ALL CITIES and CORPORATIONS that send Burgesses

geſſes to Parliament, and all other places where ever they had Preached ſince the act of oblivion. So that, had they obeyed the Laws, *London* had been deſerted in the Plague and in the ruines, and few people ſuffered publickly to worſhip God: At the mention of which the heart of the writer of this trembleth; eſpecially to think how much further the Biſhops went in this then the Synod of *Ithacius* and *Idacius* went, from which *Martin* ſeparated to the death by Gods miraculous inſtruction.

XXI. The Plague, Fire, Poverty, which have ſeized not only on *London*, but on many other Corporations of *England*, more than other places, and more than hath been known in our forefathers daies, make many wiſh that the Corporation-Oath and Declaration might be reviewed and that Gods Judgments as a Trumpet ſounding REPENT O ENGLAND were heard by all the Corporations of the Land, before we hear that *time is paſt*: And that it might be conſidered whether either an *Unlawful Impoſing, or an Unlawful taking, or the neighbourhood* of any *Unlawful particulars*, can warrant any man to declare that *neither he nor any other perſon, is obliged by that Vow, to Repent of his ſin, or to oppoſe prophaneneſs, Popery or Schiſm*, or any *thing contrary to ſound Doctrine and Godlineſs*. And to enquire in what Countrey or age of the world, Chriſtian, Mahometan, or Heathen, there was ever ſuch a Law before. It was that age of the Church in which Hell ruled moſt on earth, even in the Wars between Pope *Gregory* 7th. and the Emperour, when the Pope ſwore them on one ſide, and the Emperour on the other; and

men

men ſwore, and unſwore, and forſwore, as the powers that they were under bid them; which made *Abbas Urſpergenſis*, *Chron p.* 32. ſay [*Ut omnis homo jam ſit perjurus & prædictis facinoribus implicatus, ut vix excuſari poſſit quin ſit in his, ſicut populus ſic & Sacerdos.* And that pleaſant man (who knoweth his own name) who merrily derideth his adverſaries, for gathering a *doubt of our fundamentals* from our differences, may more feelingly know one day that *God will not hold him guiltleſs that taketh his name in vain:* And may conſider that it was no more preciſe a man than *Cotta* in *Cicero* (*de Nat. Deor. l.* 1.) that would prove men did not believe that there was a God, becauſe they durſt be perjured; inſtancing in perjured and ungodly *Carbo*: It was not a ſign of Schiſmaticks, but of very charitable moderate men, that could hear and regard ſuch a perjured Miniſtry, as *Urſpergenſis* ſaith was then in the *Roman* Church, eſpecially in *Germany*, where the temptation lay.

XXII. A little after the Plague and Fire, ſome Nonconformable Miniſters about *London*, met, to conſider whether our actuall forbearance to joyn with the Pariſh Churches in the Sacrament, might not tend to deceive men and make them believe that we were for ſeparation from them, and took their Communion to be unlawful: And upon the Reaſons given in, they agreed that ſuch Communion was lawful and meet, when it would not do more harm than good: But becauſe at that time a ſtorm was coming on men, from the Act againſt Conventicles, and their judgment was againſt ruining thoſe that in this were not of their minds (on the reaſons aforeſaid) and being credibly

credibly informed that their communicating at such an unseasonable time would not only perswade men that force compelled them, but also draw them to ruine others that durst not imitate them, they resolved to delay for a fitter opportunity, because God will have mercy and not sacrifice; and our *Liberty* is not alwaies our *Duty*, nor must be used to other mens destruction. Thus violence crosseth the Authors ends.

XXIII. Shortly after, when such thoughts returned, and many thought it meet to joyn in the publick Assemblies, the *Oxford* Oath and Act of Confinement was put in execution, and drove them all away: For the reasons aforesaid had satisfied them not to desert the souls in all Cities, Corporations and places where they had Preached; and so they were fain to hide themselves to avoid six months imprisonment in the common Gaols (whither some of us were sent;) so that if they had come to the Parish-Churches, to Common-prayer or Sacraments, they had exposed themselves to multitudes of witnesses, and so to certain imprisonment: Except in some odd corners of the Country where they were strangers (about five miles from Corporations or acquaintance) where their example would have wrought little on any in the Cities, or that had known them: So that the *Oxford* Act most effectually forbad them coming to Church, or holding Communion with any Parish-Churches within five miles of any such City, Corporation or Village where they had Preached since the Act of Oblivion; This they could not avoid.

XXIV. Yet many Ministers were afraid of introdu-

troducing unwarrantable ſeparations, by avoiding the ſeverities of the Law and Biſhops, and many that did retire to Country-Villages five miles diſtant, as confined, did there conſtantly joyn with the Pariſh-Churches in Liturgy and Sacrament: But this being far from Cities, and not in the ſight of the people that were moſt diſaffected to the Prelates and Liturgy, did little with them; and ſo they were diſabled by the Biſhops or Rulers to do what they deſired againſt other mens extreams.

XXV. Before this, many Miniſters had offered thankfully to accept the Liberty of Preaching in the Pariſh Churches where the Liturgy is uſed, and being preſent at it: And ſome to this day that live in the Country, where they can get ſo much favour, preach in the Pariſh-Churches, and joyn in the Liturgy, and draw others to it, and go from place to place thus to avoid being taken.

XXVI. Many, ſeeing how we were thus driven not only from *Preaching*, but ſuch *Pariſh-Communion*, were tempted to hard thoughts of ſuch affairs, as if it came from the Papiſts, who would have equalled, and maſs'd us up with themſelves.

XXVII. Shortly after this, the Kings Clemency ſaw cauſe to make an alteration and to give us his gracious indulgence by his Licenſes for places and perſons; upon this, Miniſters boldly ſet up Chappels under the Pariſh Churches; and in all the time of this their Liberty, when there were witneſſes enough, if they had offended, we remember not that any were ever convict of any word of ſeditious or unſound doctrine, or any unpeaceable attempts. But while they had this leave to Preach themſelves, they thought beſt to

take it at the ſame convenient hours that the Pariſh Churches meet at: Other times being ſo inconvenient, as that families cannot obſerve them without hurt. And they could not *Preach, and hear in the Pariſh-Churches* at once.

XXVIII. All this while, though they had the Kings authority for their Aſſemblies, ſome Clergy men ceaſed not to accuſe them of Schiſm; ſhewing that it is the want of ſomething elſe rather than the Kings authority on which they ground their accuſation.

XXIX. Some Nonconformiſts have theſe 17 years forborn to baptize or adminiſter the Lords Supper, or to be Paſtors of any Churches, but only Preached occaſionally where the Pariſhes were ſo great, that one of ten or twenty had no room in the Church; and where ſome of many years had heard no publick worſhip of God: And they have publiſhed to the people that they aſſembled them not to ſeparate from the Pariſh Churches or their worſhip, but for their meer neceſſity, perſwading none to come to hear them, but ſuch as cannot come into the Pariſh Churches to hear: Yet are they accuſed for drawing men from the Church.

XXX. Theſe Miniſters in theſe places have been proſecuted more ſeverely than the reſt, by impriſonments, fines and guards againſt their meetings; which induced others to Preach in the City where there ſeemed leſs need, becauſe they found quietneſs no where elſe, and becauſe ſome out of the remoter needy Pariſhes might come thither to them.

XXXI. Though they have loſt all Miniſterial maintenance, and are lyable to pay 20 *l.* the firſt Sermon, and 40 *l.* the reſt, and 20 *l.* for the ground

for all that they Preach, beſides ſix months impriſonment in the common goals, and poverty diſableth City and Countrey to maintain them; and ſome with Wives and Children have long lived on little beſides brown Rye Bread and Water; and others, that can live of their own, expend all in the charges of the places and adjuncts where they Preach for nothing; and ſome never took any pay, from the firſt theſe 17 years, but patiently ſerve God and waſt their ſtrength under mens obloquy and reproach; yet are there not wanting perſons of the Clergy, who repreſent their greateſt and deareſt ſervices as their greateſt ſins, and accuſe them as enemies of the Churches peace, and the leaders of Schiſm, and in pulpit and print provoke authority to execute the Laws more ſeverely on them; Though the execution hath coſt ſome excellent men their lives already, and they may know that no execution ſhort of death or utter diſablement will make the moſt conſcionable forſake their duty, and ſacrilegiouſly deſert the Office to which they were dedicated and ordained: (As the late caſe of the *Hungarian* Miniſters declareth:) And ſuch courſes never ended in the honour of thoſe of the Clergy that procured them: Yea ſome as *going to the bar of God, have undertaken to prove, that it is through pride and covetouſneſs that we conform not.* And becauſe ſome Churches called Independent withdraw not their maintenance from their Paſtors, and ſome few others have maintenance of their own, or friends that will not ſee them want, they would make ſtrangers believe that the common ſort of Nonconformiſts, whoſe families live in ſufferings

and

and wants, are gainers by their Nonconformity. Though themſelves that have the moſt and richeſt on their ſide, would be loth to take up with ſuch maintenance, and often Preach, how ſad a caſe the Church would be in, if Miniſters were left to the peoples charity: While they live in fulneſs thus they envy their poor brethren, who that they may finiſh their courſe, would be glad of leave to labour for nothing, and live on alms, taking Gods favour for their reward.

XXXII. And to compleat all, ſome bluſh not to accuſe them, as the bringers in of Popery, by deſiring Liberty; as if Preaching the Goſpel did not do more to keep out Popery, than the ignorance of untaught people: As if our earneſt requeſts eighteen years ago, that we might not be maſs'd up with the Papiſts, nor a door opened to them by our diviſions and ſufferings, were all forgotten: As if the Nonconformiſts were neerer Popery than they that would have the Pope to be *Principium Unitatis* to the Univerſal Church: As if their Printed Morning Lectures againſt Popery, and many other Writings, did not ſufficiently ſhew their diſtance from it: As if the *Papiſts* deſired the *Liberty*, rather than the *ſilencing* of the Nonconformiſts; or deſired any thing more than that ſo many hundred adverſaries to Popery, and all the Proteſtants of *England* who adhere to them, might be caſt out, and brought as low as themſelves, and put into the ſame condition, that they might ſtand or fall together. Nay, what if on ſuch neceſſity they ſhould accept of favour from any Papiſts that would ſave them? If one Party would bring men to ſuch a paſs that they muſt be hanged, impriſoned,

ruined, or worſe, unleſs the favour of the Papiſts deliver them; and the other Party had rather be ſaved by Papiſts, than be hanged or ruined by Proteſtants, which of theſe were more to be ſuſpected of Popery? eſpecially if the ſame men that give us the Alarm that Popery is coming in, undertook the ſole teaching of thoſe by whom they ſuſpect its entrance, and yet would not abate a needleſs Oath, or covenant or ceremony to keep it out, or ſtrengthen the Proteſtants by the Union, for which we have ſo long patiently begg'd and waited.

XXXIII. The moſt of our acquaintance take it for their duty to do their beſt to keep up the reputation of the publick Conformable Miniſtry, that it may further Love and Concord, and the ſucceſs of their labours with the people; and they profeſs to take their own Aſſemblies but as Chapels, and not as *diſtinct*, much leſs as ſeparated Churches: And thoſe of them who do adminiſter the Sacraments, and do that which is like the Separatiſts way, yet do it not on their principles, but *pro tempore*, till God ſhall give them opportunity to ſerve him in the eſtabliſhed way (if ever it may be hoped for:) it being reformed or well ordered Pariſh-Churches under the Government and countenance of the Chriſtian Magiſtrates, which are moſt agreeable to their deſires.

XXXIV. When we go into the Pariſh-Churches, we find thoſe that have able godly Miniſters uſually to be as full as will conſiſt with the peoples hearing the voice (which in many places will not reach to a great part of the Congregation:) we find ſuch Preachers, whether Conformable, or Non-

Nonconformable, every where almost crouded after; which shews that it is not meer faction that moveth the hearers: and that worthy men have no cause of discouragement: And if none of either side be valued much above their worth (for the bare *Office* sake) we cannot help it: nor would it be helped if there were no Nonconformists: Some of us well remembring the time (1632. till 1640.) when we were troubled or threatned also for going out of our own Parishes to hear worthy, able men that were very conformable.

XXXV. It is very ordinary with Gentlemen and others that are zealous for the present Church-State in *London*, to go from their own Parishes, though the Canon be against it: so that it is not, sure, the breach of the Canon that they stick at.

XXXVI. We shall never dissuade men from making the strictest Laws to punish any Nonconformist that shall be proved guilty of Sedition, Disloyalty, Drunkenness, Fornication, Swearing, and any other immorality; but we know of none of them that was silenced, ejected, or punished on any such account: Nay, if they Preach against their Church Government, Liturgy, or Ceremonies, we must expect that they should be restrained. Our earnest desire is, that the Magistrate would keep up Peace and Order in the Church, that Popish Clergy men may not think that it belongeth to them alone to do it.

XXXVII. Whereas there is a sort of ignorant or ill meaning men, that still say [*we know not what the Nonconformists would have, and why will they not tell us what would satisfie them,*] While

we offer to beg on our knees for leave to do it; We humbly intreat them to weary men awake no more with that canting: 1. As long as the Kings Declaration about Eccleſiaſtical affairs is viſible. 2. And as long as our *Reply* and our *Reformed Additions to the Liturgy*, and our *Petition for Peace* which reſpected the old Conformity remain unanſwered by thoſe to whom in 1660 we did preſent them: 3. And till we are once called or allowed *to ſpeak for our* ſelves againſt the *new conformity*, a favour which the juſtice of old Romane Heathens, yea and ſplenetick Jews did grant to all that were accuſed before they puniſhed them, but ſince Popery prevailed in the World, is become a thing among them not to be expected. 4. And as long as men know that Biſhop *Wilkins* and Dr. *Burton* appointed by the Lord Keeper Bridgman to treat with ſome of us of the terms of *Union*, (ſaying it was His Majeſties Pleaſure,) did come to a full agreement with us in *terminis*, which was drawn up into the form of an Act by no worſe a man than that PILLAR OF JUSTICE the excellent Judge *Hale*, and the Parliament preſently Voted that no ſuch Act ſhould be brought in and offered. Dear Brethren, God is the father of Lights and with him is no darkneſs: Men may be mocked, but God is not mocked: If the day that will bring works of darkneſs to light, and finally clear the Innocent, be not the object of certain faith and hope, let our cauſe be bad, and let us as fools be judged ſuch as have forſaken our beſt hopes: But that it is otherwiſe we believe, and therefore appeal to a righteous God from an unrighteous world.

XXXVIII.

XXXVIII. What harm our Preaching the doctrine of ſalvation can do to the Biſhops or people of the Land (while they may puniſh us for any word that we ſpeak amiſs:) And why we ſhould not rather ſpeak *openly* (where men may bear witneſs of our errours,) than in ſecret (where men are tempted to too much boldneſs:) And what but a ſpirit of envy, or a carnal intereſt croſs to the intereſt of Chriſt and mens ſalvation, ſhould grudge at ſuch Preaching, while we are reſponſible for all that we ſay or do amiſs, we cannot tell.

XXXIX. Nor can we tell, if our *not ſwearing, or not entering into the Biſhops National Covenant*, be as great a crime as our penalties import, why no other mulct or penalty will ſerve turn to expiate *ſuch crimes*, but our ceaſing to preach the Goſpel of Salvation, while we are willing to do it under the ſtricteſt Laws of Peace and Order.

XL. It is viſible that the Pariſh-Churches of thoſe Miniſters (*ceteris paribus*) are fulleſt of Auditors, who are moſt willing that the Nonconformiſts help them in due time and place, and deſire to live with them in Love and Concord: For all that have the ſpirit of holy *love and peace*, do love thoſe that have the ſame ſpirit: And ſuch ſerious, holy Conformiſts as *Bolton, Whately, Fenner, Preſton, Sibbs, Stoughton, Gouge*, and ſuch other, were formerly as much crouded after as Nonconformiſts: But it is thoſe that Preach againſt holy Love and Concord, and wrangle with the moſt Religious ſort whom they ſhould encourage, whoſe Congregations are thineſt (uſually) through the tepidity of their followers, and the diſtaſte of others.

XLI. When we read in the Council of *Calced.* the

the *Egyptian* Bishops crying so long *miseremini, miserimini*, lying prostrate on the earth, even when they could say, *Non dissentimus*, and begging of their fellow Bishops for their lives and consciences, and their Brethren crying against all [*Away with them, They are Hereticks*] while they professed the same Faith, while the men that with such out-crys were condemning those of their own confession, had newly cryed, *Omnes peccavimus*, for condemning *Flavianus*, and the Truth, and saying, that *they did it for fear*, and owned that Eutychianism, which yet these *Egyptian* Bishops now disowned, it mindeth us that even Bishops had need to be remembred, that while the wheel is turning, the *upper side* should not tempt men to forget what side will be uppermost shortly and for ever.

Additions: more particularly of National Churches.

§ 1. THere are some worthy persons, who plead more specially for *National Churches* as of Divine Institution, whose Doctrine calls us to a special consideration of it. But though some of us have oft desired it, we have not hitherto obtained any satisfaction what they mean by *A National Church*, or any true definition which they agree in; Some of them deride us for doubting and asking the question, and some answer it to the increase of our doubt.

§ 2. It must be presupposed that we speak not of a meer Community that hath no Pastors, but strictly of a Society called by some Political, by others

others *Organized*, constituted of Pastors and People mutually related; which is the ordinary sense of the word [*Church*.] And we must premise what being commonly agreed on, is none of our doubt or question.

§ 3. The question is not whether any, or all Nations and Kingdoms should be Christians, and so be the Kingdoms of Christ: That's past doubt. 2. Nor is it whether in such Kingdoms the King be the Head, as to the power of the sword; that is, a Christian Civil Governour of a Christian People that are his Subjects. We daily pray that the Kingdoms of the world may all be Christian; and we believe that their Kings are the Governours by the sword, of all the Clergy, as well as others. 3. Nor is the question whether Kings may call all their Kingdoms into a holy Covenant with God (by lawful means) giving them an example first themselves. 4. Nor do we contend about an Equivocal Name, whether a *Christian Kingdom*, as such, may be called a *National Church*. 5. No nor whether a *Christian Nation*, governed by a Heathen or Mahometan King, may be called a Christian Church or Kingdom; or a Protestant Nation ruled by a Papist King, is to be called a Protestant Kingdom or Church: for this is but about bare *names*. 6. Nor do we question whether a Christian King may make such accidental disparity between the Pastors, as we have before described. 7. Nor yet whether the Pastors of one Kingdom may associate and hold Synods for Unity and Counsel, and be named a *National Church*, as they are such Associations, obliged to Concord.

§ 4. But our doubts are these; 1. Whether it

be in it self specially instituted by God, that every Kingdom or Nation of Christians shall have [*One summam Potestatem essentialiter Ecclesiasticam*, or one *Priest-Head*, (whether a *single person*, or an *Aristocracy*, or a *Common Synod*) as a constitutive part of the National Church. 2. Whether this *Priest-Head* (whether High-Priest, or Council,) stand in subordination to the King, as part of the same formal Church, as a General, or a Vicerov, that maketh not a distinct Kingdom, (though he may make a distinct subordinate Society as an Army, City, &c.) or is he Head of a coordinate different species, so as that the same Kingdom shall be two Policies formally, *viz.* a Christian Kingdom or Royal Church, and a Priestly Church; each being supream in their proper species, and both made coordinate by Christ; and so they are formally two Churches National. About the Jews the Controversie is made by Dissenters (*v. g. Galaspit, Coleman, Selden*, &c.) exceeding difficult. 3. Whether the very Jewish Church-Policy be established by Christ for the Christian Church, or be repealed? 4. Whether the said Ecclesiastical Head must be *One* as the High Priest, or an Aristocracy of many, or a Synod of the whole Clergy? or whether it be left indifferent which? 5. Or whether God hath ordained such a National Church-form, only by the general Command of doing all things in Order and Unity and to Edification? 6. Which is the Priestly-Head, or highest Governour of the Church of *England*, which is a constitutive part, as a King in a Kingdom? 7. Who is it that chooseth or authorizeth the National Priestly Head, that we may know when we have a lawful Chief Pastor,

and

and when an Uſurper? 8. Whether the King or he, is to be obeyed in Circumſtances, or matters Eccleſiaſtical, if they differ, and make contrary Laws? Without the ſolution of theſe queſtions, the *name* of a *National Church* will not be underſtood, nor of any practical importance. Our own thoughts of them are as followeth.

§ 5. It is certain, that the *Moſaical* Law made for the Jews peculiar republick, as ſuch, is abrogate; not only the Ceremonial part, but all: All that was not then made for all the world, is ceaſed; 1. Becauſe the Common-wealth is ceaſed for which it was made: 2. The Holy Ghoſt expreſly and frequently determineth it ſo; even of that Law that was written in ſtone, as ſuch, 2 *Cor.*3.7,8,9,10,11. *Heb.*7.12.19 *Gal.* 4.21,&c. 3. 24. The natural part, and that which was inſtituted poſitively long before for perpetuity, were both of them God's Laws before *Moſes*'s time, and as ſuch, obliged other Nations, and ſo do ſtill: The matter written in ſtone (except ſome few mutable particulars, as the ſeventh day Sabbath, &c.) is ſuch as we are ſtill obliged to, 1. By Nature, 2. By Chriſt: But not as it was part of the *Jews peculiar Moſaical Law.* Much leſs doth it bind all the world to its Policy.

§ 6. If the Jewiſh Law, either as ſuch, or as ſtabliſhed by Chriſt for his Kingdom, did bind all the world to this day, then it would bind them to their Civil Policy, as much at leaſt as to their Eccleſiaſtical. But few Chriſtians think that it binds them to their Civil Policy. For if it did, then, 1. All Nations that have varied from it to this day, have ſinned: 2. No diverſity of Govern-

Governments could be lawful: 3. Then it would perplex men, to be ſure, whether it be the old *Moſaical* form by Judges, or the later Regal form that bindeth: 4. Then ſuch a Civil Council or Sanhedrim as was appointed the Jews, would be a Divine Eſtabliſhment, and not variable at the will of Kings or People. Many other things would follow, which Kings would not eaſily believe.

§ 7. There may be much more ſaid for the continuance of the Jews civil Policy than for their Eccleſiaſtical: For there is much more *forbidden* of the latter, than of the former; Though all nations be not bound to their civil policie, they may ſet it up if they pleaſe; They are not prohibited: For Chriſt hath not made new Laws for civil ſtates as ſuch; But he hath made new *Church Laws*, and thereby altered, yea prohibited much of the old.

§ 8. We know no more reaſon why the Jewiſh form ſhould bind us, than that which was before the Jews: and particularly *Melchezedeck*, who was a *King and Prieſt*: God owned both and commandeth us neither, at leaſt as in conformity to them.

§ 9. The Holy Ghoſt ſaith expreſly *Heb.* 7. 11. 12, That perfection was not by the Levitical Prieſthood, and that the *Prieſthood being changed, there is made of neceſſity a change of the Law*, which is called, *the Law of a carnal Commandment, verſe* 16. *and that there is a diſanulling of the Commandement going before for the weakneſs and unprofitableneſs of it; for the Law made nothing perfect*, v. 18, 19. the Covenant or Law being not faultleſs a new one doth ſucceed it v, 7. 8. 9. 10. The firſt Tabernacle is not ſtanding which had their ordi-

ordinances of divine ſervice and a worldly ſanctuary: *Heb.* 9 1.8. 11. He taketh away the firſt Law and Prieſthood, that he may eſtabliſh the ſecond, *Heb.* 10. 8, 9 11. 16. 17, &c.

§ 10. Whileſt it is agreed on, that the eſſentials of the work or office of the Jewiſh Prieſts is ceaſed, (as *Heb.* 7. and 8, 9, and 10 ſhew,) and their Title by birth, and the appropriation to one Tribe, &c. it followeth that the Jewiſh Prieſthood is ceaſed. But yet we confeſs that Chriſt, if he had pleaſed, *might have ſetled* a High Prieſt and Council like theirs in every nation for his own work. But if the old form bind us not, we are left only to enquire what new one is ſetled by Chriſt, and whether he have done ſo or not.

§ 11. We juſtly maintain againſt the Anabaptiſts, that Infants relation to the Covenant, and the univerſal Church (as members) was not repealed by Chriſt, becauſe it was not founded only on the Law of *Moſes*: which if it had, it were as ſuch repealed

§ 12. The Holy Ghoſt by the Apoſtles *Acts* 15. hath declared to all the Churches of the Gentiles that they are not bound to keep the Law of *Moſes*, and hath abſolved us from all, ſaving things antecedently, and on other reaſons neceſſary. *verſe.* 28.

§ 13 If the Jews form of Government be ours, then the High-Prieſt muſt have the power of the Sword, or ſit in judgment for life or death, as *Deut.* 17. 12, 13. and other places ſhew: But many Papiſts and Proteſtants are agreed that the clergy have no power of the Sword, or force, unleſs the King make them alſo Magiſtrates.

§ 14. It is a matter of ſo great importance to the

the Church to know whom we must obey, that it is not to be thought that any way is made necessary by Christ, which he hath not made intelligible and certain to be indeed his will: Especially when the Apostles strove who should be the chief, and two of them made it their request; and when the *Corinthians* and others were ready to set up one before another, and say I am of *Cephas*, &c.

§ 15. Yea Christ on this occasion expressly forbad them to seek to be one above another, and told them that though Kings exercise authority, and have magnifying Titles, with them it should not be so, but their preeminence should consist, as that of a servant, in humility and service unto others *Luk.* 22. which will not stand (as we suppose) with establishing the Jewish order.

§ 16. And *Pauls* reproof of their making a Church head of *Cephas*, *Paul*, *or Apollo*, or taking them to be other than *helps* of their faith, (and not Lords of it) and Ministers by whom they believed, even then when Schisms made it necessary to have known to whom they must appeal and adhere, if that had been the way, doth further confirm what we say.

§ 17. The argument that some worthy persons bring, from the Propheſies that Nations should be converted unto Christ; and that the Kingdom should be taken from the Jews, and given to a Nation that would bring forth the fruits of it *Matth.* 21. 43. and that the Kingdomes of the world are made the Kingdoms of Christ, and that *Egypt* and *Assyria* should be converted and equalled with the Jews, &c. do indeed shew that there should be Christian Kings and Kingdoms;

which

which the Apoſtles were ſent to endeavour, *Mat.* 28. 19. to *convert Nations*: But here is nothing, that we can perceive, to prove that theſe Chriſtian Nations muſt have the Jewiſh Church Policy.

§ 18. Nay contrary, the Church is ſaid to be built on the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, *Eph.* 2. 20. and not of the *Moſaical* Policy of Prieſthood, *Rev.* 21. 14. It hath twelve foundations.

§ 19. It is ſaid, *Zech.* 2. 11. Many Nations ſhall be joyned to the Lord, and ſhall be my people. So *Zech.* 8. 22. *Iſa.* 65. 1. *Rom.* 10. 20. *Iſa.* 2. 2. & 55. 5. *Hoſ.* 2. 23. *Iſa.* 60. 3. & 49. 22. But not a word in all this, of the old form of Policy or Prieſthood, but Contrarily; that the *Law ſhould come out of Zion, and a new Covenant ſhould be made*: And it is certain that ſo large a hiſtory as we have of Chriſt's performances, is a far clearer light than obſcure Propheeies; and darker texts muſt be explained by the plainer, and not contrarily.

§ 20. We ſee not how the Synod *Act.* 15. maketh any thing for a National High Prieſt or Sanedrim, or any like Policy: For 1. It appeareth to be no act of proper *National Government*, but did bind other Churches as well as thoſe within the Empire. 2. It was an arbitration at the requeſt of doubting perſons; and it was not the Relation of the Arbitrators to one ſeat of National Power (as the Metropolis) that was reſpected, but the *quality of the perſons ſent to*, who would have been equally obeyed had they dwelt in the leaſt Village of another Land. 1. There were the Apoſtles that had the promiſe

of the Holy Ghoſt: 2. There were *many*, whom the people muſt needs more confide in than in one; eſpecially whoſe power was queſtioned by gainſayers. 3. Both Apoſtles, Elders and Brethren there were ſuch as had ſeen, or were neer to Chriſt and his works, and therefore likelieſt to know his mind. 4. They were Jews themſelves, and therefore moſt impartial Judges in the point that Jewiſh Teachers troubled them about, ſo far as that they might well acquieſce when Jews themſelves reſolved them. And when the Apoſtles were diſperſed, we find not any more *Jeruſalem*-Councils Governing the Imperial Churches.

§ 21. If that Councils Authority were properly *National*, and aroſe from the prerogative of *Jeruſalem*, then 1. All the Apoſtles, when ſcattered, would have been ſubject to *James*, the firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, (thought to be no Apoſtle:) 2. Then *Jeruſalem* might have after claimed the Supremacy as of Divine right, before *Alexandria*, *Antioch* or *Rome*. But it is certain by experience that the whole Church was of another mind, when *Jeruſalem* had not ſo much as the fifth or loweſt Patriarchate, till long after by another grant. But if the Power was not fixed to the place, but the Itinerant Apoſtles, then it is nothing to prove any Governing Church over others, as being affixed to ſuch a place: Nor ſhall we eaſily find the Apoſtles Itinerant Succeſſours in that power.

§ 22. II. It is certain that Chriſt choſe twelve Apoſtles (beſides *Paul*) who had a preeminence before other Miniſters; and that he joyned with them ſome Prophets and Evangeliſts, appointing them all to gather Churches through the world, diſcipling

diſcipling and baptizing Nations, and teaching them all things that he commanded (a work to be ſtill done, and to which he promiſed his preſence to the end of the world:) And that theſe having gathered Converts, ſet over them fixed Biſhops (or Paſtors or Elders) to be their *conſtant Guides*, in *Teaching*, *Publick Worſhip*, and *Diſcipline*, under Chriſt the great Prophet, Prieſt and King of the Church. And that to the Apoſtles firſt, and by them to others, he gave them the Keys (that is, the Judging Power of reception, and rejection, and the Official Power of pronouncing God's reception or rejection of them according to his Word.)

§ 23. There is not the leaſt evidence that theſe Apoſtles did affix a Superiour Power over the other Churches to any particular ſeats, Patriarchal or Metropolitan, much leſs National; or that any of them exerciſed Government over the reſt; or that they themſelves did fix themſelves as Biſhops to any twelve or thirteen Cities in the world; much leſs to twelve Kingdoms.

§ 24. There is no notice in Church-hiſtory of any one National Church-power (Prieſt or Synod) ſetled, aſſerted or exerciſed under Heaven, of above three hundred years. *Egypt* and *Aſſyria* that were propheſied to be Chriſtian Nations, never were diſtinct Chriſtian Kingdoms, but parts of the Empire; nor had a National Church or Head (being but parts of ſuch a Church:) Nay, when *Rome* got the National Primacy, it had not ſuch a Prieſtly Governing Soveraignty as the Jews High-Prieſt had.

§ 25. Though there was no Chriſtian King for

three hundred years (unleſs he of *Edeſſa*, or *Lucius* of *England*, of whom we have little certainty; but it's like that both were ſubjects to others) yet if a Supream Church-Power had been neceſſary, the Apoſtles would have before erected it; which they never did: For even *Rome* pretendeth to be by them made the Ruler of the whole world, and not a meer National Head (which *Conſtantinople* claimed, but not as of Apoſtolical inſtitution.)

§ 27. The queſtion whether the Jews, had they believed, ſhould have continued their High-Prieſt and Church-Policy, is vain as to our purpoſe; 1. It being certain to Chriſt that they would be diſſolved by unbelief: And 2. he having ſetled another way, and changed theirs: 3. And if their Prieſthood and Law (except as it typified ſpiritual things) had ſtood, yet it would not have bound the Gentile Chriſtians in other Nations.

§ 28. When Emperours became Chriſtians, they did not ſet up the Jewiſh Policy, nor thought themſelves bound to it; no nor any ſetled Prieſtly Supremacy for National Government: For Councils were called but on rare accidents by the Emperours themſelves, and to decide particular caſes about Hereſies: And the Pope had but the firſt voice in ſuch Councils.

§ 29. But if every Nation muſt have the Jewiſh Policy, then the whole Empire muſt then have one High Prieſt, and then the Pope hath a fair pretence to his claim of a Divine Inſtitution, as the Church Soveraign of the whole Empire, which, it's like, was then ſeven parts in eight of the whole Chriſtian world at leaſt, (unleſs *Abaſ-*

ſia

sia were then generally Christians, as now.) But then his power would change with the Empire, and fall when it falleth.

§ 30. III. But if the question be only *whether* a National Priestly Soveraignty be lawful? or whether God's general Rules (for *Concord, Order, Edification*) do bind the Churches prudentially to erect such a form? To this they say as followeth. 1. We will first lay hold on certainties, and not prefer uncertainties before them. We are sure that such a power of Apostles and Pastors as is before mentioned, was established; and that the *junior* Pastors were as Sons to the *seniors*, ordained by them: Whether the power of Ordaining and Governing Ministers was by Apostolical Establishment appropriated to men of a superiour degree in the sacred Ministry, seemeth to us very dark. 2. We are past doubt that all particular Churches, by Apostolical order, had Bishops; and that a Church was, as *Hierom* saith, *Plebs Episcopo adunata*, and as *Ignatius*, the Unity of every Church was notified by this, that to *every Church there was one Altar and one Bishop* (at that time) and as *Cyprian*, *Ubi Episcopus, ibi Ecclesia*. 3. And we are satisfied, that every Presbyter is *Episcopus Gregis*, whoever claim to be *Episcopi Episcoporum* (which the *Carthage* Council in *Cyprian* renounced.) 4. And we are satisfied that no Church-superiours have authority to destroy the particular Church-form, Ministry, Doctrine, Worship or Discipline, which were setled by the Holy Ghost in the Apostles; And that the priviledges and duties of these single particular Churches, being plainest and surest in Scripture, they must be continued whatever Canons or

Commands of any ſuperiour Prieſts ſhould be againſt them. 5. Nor can they force any man to ſin: 6. Nor have any Prieſts a forcing power, by the ſword or violence, but only the power of the Word and Keys, that is, of taking in, or putting out of the Church, where they have power, and binding men over, on juſt cauſe, to the judgment of God. The power that they have is from Chriſt, and for him, and not againſt him; and for the Churches edification, and not deſtruction; and what is pretended contrary to this, is none. They cannot diſpenſe with the Laws of God, but preach and execute them. 7. And theſe things being thus ſecured, though in our doubts we dare not ſwear or ſubſcribe that National, Patriarchal, Provincial, or Metropolitical Powers are of God's inſtitution; yet we reſolve to live in all Chriſtian peaceableneſs and ſubmiſſion, when ſuch are over us.

§ 31. And we muſt profeſs that when we find how anciently and commonly *one* Presbyter in each Church was peculiarly called the Biſhop, without whom there was no (ordinary) ordinations, and againſt whom in matters of his power none was to reſiſt, and alſo how generally the Churches in the Roman Empire conformed themſelves to an imitation of the civil power (as to their limits) in all the official part (being all ſubject to the Emperour, who ſet up no Eccleſiaſtical Peer,) we are not ſo ſingular or void of reverence to thoſe Churches, as not by ſuch notices to be much the more inclined to the aforeſaid ſubmiſſion and peaceableneſs under ſuch a power; nor are we ſo bold or raſh as to reproach it or condemn the Churches and excellent

excellent persons that have practised it.

§ 32. Nay we have already said, that securing the state, worship, doctrine and true discipline of the inferiour particular (Parish) Churches, there are some of us that much incline to think that Archbishops, that is, Bishops that have some oversight of many Churches with their Pastors, are Lawful successours of the Apostles in the ordinary part of their work. And such of us have long ago said, that the Episcopal Government of the *Bohemian* Waldenses described by *Commenius* and *Lascitius*, is most agreable to our judgment of any that we know excercised: Therefore that which we humbly offered for our concord in *England* at His Majesties Restauration, was Archbishop *Ushers* form of the Primitive Church Government, not attempting any diminution of the Power, wealth or honour of the Dioceesanes or Archbishops, but only a restauration of the Presbyters to their proper Office-work, and some tolerable discipline to the particular Parish Churches.

§ 33. But we must ever much difference, so much of Church order and Government as God himself hath instituted, and is purely divine and unchangeable, from those accidentals which men ordain though according to Gods general Rules: For these are often various and mutable, and are means to the former, and never to be used against them. And of these accidentals of Government we say as they that say no such form is fixed by God. Concord, order & decency and edification are alwaies necessary, But oft times it may be indifferent whether concord, order and decency be expressed by this accidental way or that. And

that which is moſt congruous for order, decency, edification and concord in one Countrey, Church or time, may be incongruous in another. Therefore if the queſtion be but how far the giving one Biſhop or Paſtor power over others, or making diſparity of Cities in conformity to the ſtate, be prudently to be choſen; we only ſay, ſo that Gods eſtabliſhment be not violated, whatever we might think beſt, we preſume not herein to give Laws to the Lawgivers, nor to obtrude our Counſel uncalled, on our ſuperiours, much leſs ſeditiouſly to oppoſe their Lawful inſtitutions.

§ 34. But to thoſe that think that Gods foreſaid General Laws (of order, concord, edification) do make ſuch a policy ordinarily *neceſſary* in the Churches, as imitateth the Jews, or the civil form of Government, we humbly offer to their conſideration; 1. If ſo, then it would have been the matter of an Vniverſal Law, (with its due exceptions;) And then Chriſt the only Vniverſal Lawgiver would have made it: For if he have not made all *neceſſary Vniverſal Laws*, his Laws are imperfect; And then there ſhould be ſome other Vniverſal Lawgiver to ſupply that defect: But there is no other upon earth (whether Pope or Council,) 2. It is contrary to the *nature of undetermined circumſtances* to be alwaies the ſame, and ſo to be fit matter of ſuch Vniverſal or fixed Laws: The caſes will vary, and then ſo will the duty; 3. There will be great diverſity of the intereſt, and ingeny of the Judges of the caſe in ſeveral Countries and ages: And therefore though ſome think the ſaid imitation of the civil ſtate alwaies beſt, yet others will not.

§ 35. But if ſuch a ſettlement were certainly beſt,

beſt, let it be remembred, 1. That the *Jews* had not under the chief High-Prieſt, one in every City or Tribe like Dioceſane Biſhops. 2. That their Synagogues had diſcipline within themſelves; ever where there was but a Village of ten perſons, there was a Presbyter that had the power of judging offenders.

§ 36. What man doth prudently ſet up, man may prudently alter as there is cauſe. *Greg. Nazianzen* earneſtly wiſheth that there were no difference of Place or ſeats among the Paſtors of the Church. And therefore he neither thought their Government of each other to be of Divine right, nor of prudential neceſſity or uſe: Elſe he would have been againſt it. And the whole Greek Church did, and ſtill doth take the ſeats of preeminence to be but of mans appointment, or elſe they would never have changed them, and ſet *Conſtantinople* ſo high as they did: And the Council of *Calcedon* expreſly determineth, that *Rome* was by the fathers made the chief ſeat becauſe it was the ſeat of the Emperour; which was mutable.

§ 37. The Councils in thoſe daies were about Popes or Patriarchs, and could depoſe them: And yet it is moſt evident to any man conſiderately reading ſuch hiſtory, that all the Councils, called before Chriſtian Emperours gave them more power and conjoyned their authority, did meet only for acts of *Agreement* and not of *Regiment* over each other: Many ſuch ſynods are mentioned by *Euſebius*: And the Right Reverend Arch-biſhop Uſher declared his judgment ſo in general that *Councils* had but an *agreeing power*, and not a *Regent power* over the particular Biſhops.

Yet

Yet these two things must be supposed, 1. That the Pastors in a synod are still Rectors of their flocks, and their Canons to them may be more authoritative than a single Pastors words: 2. That Gods Law bindeth us to keep love and concord, and the Agreements of Councils may determine of the matter in alterable points; and so even absent and present Bishops may, *concordiæ gratiâ*, be obliged by Gods Law to keep such canons as are made for concord, and so they may be the matter of our duty. But seeing the Church for 300 years, judged Councils to have no proper Governing power over particular Pastors, and Bishops, or Patriarchs singly had ever less power than Councils, it followeth that then a Churches Government of disparity and supraordinate Bishops like the civil, or like the *Jews*, was not then taken to be of divine right, nor then of any right at all.

§ 38. And as to the doubt [*whether it began after* 300 *years to be a prudential duty or at least most desirable*] when we hear what is said on both sides we think it not easie to judge, either how much in such a case Christ hath left to humane prudence, nor which way the scales of prudence herein will ordinarily turn. On one side it is said 1. That it is absurd that there should be no appeals for injured persons to a superiour power; 2. And that the dissensions of the Church else will be remediless, and all will be broken into heresies and sects; 3. And that Apostolical men of a higher rank than meer Presbyters will else have no convenient opportunity to excercise their Governing power, if it be not tyed to fixed seats.

§ 39.

§ 39. On the other ſide they plead; 1. That it is ſafer for the Church to have Religion in the power of *many Biſhops* or Paſtors, than that *one High Prieſt* or *Patriarch* ſhould have power to corrupt it, or ſilence the faithful preachers, or perſecute the people when ever he proveth a bad man: Yea they ſay it muſt be rare if he be not bad, ſeeing it is certain that the moſt proud and worldly men (which are the worſt) will be the moſt earneſt ſeekers of rich and honourable places; and he that ſeeketh will uſually find. 2. They ſay Chriſt directly forbad this to his Apoſtles *Luk.*22. That which they ſtrove for was it that he forbad them: But that which they ſtrove for was who ſhould be the chief or greateſt (and not who ſhould tyrannize) 3. They ſay that all Church hiſtory aſſureth us that there have been more Schiſms and ſcandalous contentions about the great ſuperiour Biſhopricks far, than any of the reſt: It is a doleful thing to read the hiſtory of the Churches of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Conſtantinople*, and *Rome*: *Gregory Nazianzen* giveth it as the reaſon, why the contention at *Ceſarea* was ſo lamentable, becauſe it was ſo high an Archbiſhoprick. The whole Chriſtian world hath been ſcandalized, torn and diſtracted by the ſtrife of Biſhops of and for the higheſt ſeats. Their famous General Councils which we juſtly honour for their function and that which they did well, were ſhamefully militant: even the firſt and moſt honoured Council at *Nice*, was with great difficulty kept in Peace by the perſonal preſence, wiſdom and authority of *Conſtantine*, preaching peace to the preachers of peace, burning their libels of mutual accuſation,

tion,

tion, & ſilencing their contentious wranglings, and conſtreining them to accord. *Nazianzens* deſcriptions of the ignorance and inſolence, and naughtineſs of the Clergy, *Orat* 1. and of the ſhameful ſtate of the Biſhops, *Orat.* 32. muſt make the readers heart to grieve, The people he deſcribeth as contentious at *Conſtantinople* yet as *endued with the Love of God, though their zeal wanted knowledge, pag,* 528. But (the *Courtiers,* as whether true to the *Emperours he knew not, but for the greateſt part perfidious to God: And the Biſhops as ſitting on adverſe thrones, and feeding adverſe oppoſite flocks, drawn by them into factions, like the cleſts that Earthquakes make, and the peſtilent diſeaſes that infect all about, and diſtracting and dividing all the world, ſeparating the Eaſt from the Weſt, by the noiſe, of meus et tuus, antiquus et novus; nobilior aut ignobilior; multitudine opulentior aut tenuior; raging like furious horſes in battel, and like madmen caſting duſt into the air, and under their heads fulfilling their own contentions and becoming the determiners of wicked ambition and magnificence, and unrighteouſneſs and abſurd Judges of matters: The ſame men* (ſaith he) *are to day of the ſame throne* (or ſide) *and judgement, as we are, if ſo our leaders and chief men carry them: To morrow if the wind do but turn, they are for the contrary ſeat, and judgement. Names* (*or votes*) *follow hatred or friendſhip: And which is moſt grievous, we bluſh not to ſay contrary things to the very ſame hearers; nor are we conſtant to our ſelves, being changed up and down by contention; you would ſay we are toſſed like the waving Euripus*: Therefore he profeſſeth it unſeemly for him to joyn with them as he would not leave his ſtudies and peace,

to

to go play with the Lads in the ſtreets, *pag.* 524. The like he hath in his Poems *de vita ſua, pag.* 24, 25, 26, 27. Οἱ γὰρ πρόεδροι, &c.

" *Etenim Magiſtri plebis atque antiſtites,*
" *Sancti datores ſpiritus, & qui thronis* :
" *Fundunt ab altis verba queis patitur ſalus,*
" *Cunctiſq; pacem jugiter qui prædicant,*
" *In æde media vocibus clariſſimis,*
" *Tanto furore ſe petunt ſibi invicem*
" *Tumultuando, contrahendo copias,*
" *Carpendo ſeſe mutuo linguâ efferâ,*
" *Saliendo; mentis ut ſolent ſanæ impotes*
" *Prædando quos quis ante prædari queat*
" *Rabida imperandi dum tenet mente ſitis;*
" *(Quinam iſta verbis, & quibus digne eloquar?)*
" *Orbem univerſum pronſus ut diviſerint,*
" *Ortumq; jam & Heſperum ſcindit magis*
" *Ardens ſimultas, quam loci vel climata;*
" *Namq; illa ſi non finis, & media uniunt;*
" *At hos ligare vinculum nullum poteſt:*
" *Non cauſa, Pietas, (bilis hoc excogitat*
" *Ad mentiendum prona,) ſed Lis ob Thronos:*
" *Quidnam hoc vocarim? Præſules? Non Præſules.*

[* Some ſay that *Gregory* himſelf forſook the place; but it was when he ſaw that they would put him out: Some ſay that it was not the ſame Council that put him in, but it is an errour. When *Meletius* was dead, more Biſhops came from *Egypt* and turned the ſtream. And they named many to ſucceed him, to the Emperour; out of whom he choſe an unbaptized Layman *Nectarius Niceph. l.* 12. *c.* 15. ſo that the Emperour then choſe the Biſhop in that manner.]

Are not theſe doleful Narratives and Characters of thoſe Primitive Biſhops (even in thoſe happy

happy daies of good *Theodosius*? But all this is yet little to what the same man saith of Bishops in his last Oration *de Episcopis, Vol.* 2. too sharp and large to recite. Perhaps it will be said, that it was the *Macedonian* or *Arrian* Bishops that he meant: So one Papist was not ashamed to answer me, when the whole scope of his writing speaketh the contrary, that he spake of the Council at *Constantinople*, and other such, and expressly saith in his *Epist.* 59. to *Sophronius, pag.* 816. *si eos inveneritis non ob fidei doctrinam, sed ob privatas simultates inter se distractos & divulsos, quod quidem ipse observavi.* But some will say that he was wrongfully cast out by that Council of *Constantinople*, and he speaketh but of that, or that injury *made him satyrical by exasperation.* But 1. The places cited shew that he speaketh not of that Council only: And *Epist.* 55. *Procopio pag.* 814. he saith (refusing to come to a Council) *ego si vera scribere oportet hoc animo sum, ut Omnem Episcoporum Conventum fugiam: quoniam nullius concilii finem laetum & faustum vidi, nec quod depulsionem malorum potius quam accessionem & incrementum habuerit: pertinaces enim contentiones & dominandi cupiditates (ne me quaeso gravem & molestum existimes haec scribentem) ne pullis quidem verbis explicari queant, citiusque aliquis improbitatem arcesset, dum aliis judicem se praebet, quam ut aliorum improbitatem comprimat.* And that injury made *Gregory* injurious is an injurious conjecture, seeing all his endeavours in these businesses were for piety and peace: And it was partly for his speaking for the Peace of the Church of *Antioch*, (which had long had two Bishops, *Paulinus* and *Meletius*, and *Flavianus*, who had taken an oath

not

not to be their Bishop while either of them lived, intruded by Perjuries and the Bishops wills) that this Council turned against *Gregory*, (and because they chose him not.) And for peace he quit his place; and many and earnest Epistles he wrote after to the Civil Magistrates, to keep the Bishops in peace at the next Councils, lest Religion should be quite shamed and weakened by them. And was not the contention at the two Councils of *Ephesus* more stigmatized by Historians than this that *Gregory* so lamenteth? when they seemed rather to fight, than peaceably to seek for Truth; in the latter of which *Flavianus* received his deaths hurt, and the history of the better of them between *Cyril*, and *Nestorius*, and *Johan. Antiochenus*, is sad to read.

The very controversie with its consequence was lamentable when one Council of Bishops at *Constantinople* had cast out excellent *Gregory*; another neer cast out excellent *Chrysostom*, his free speech and strict life being not endured, and chose an old useless man *Arsacius*; *Atticus*, and *Sisinius* that succeeded him being dead, the people did so dislike all the clergy of *Constantinople*, that they would have one like *Chrysostom* of a Monastery by *Antioch*; *Nestorius* a man of study, retirement, a poor garb, a strict life, abhorring publick contentions, and loving quietness, but of a pievish zeal against dissenters called hereticks, as enemies to the Churches unity and peace; so that he presently persecuted many of them even the *Novatians* themselves, and stirred up the Emperour to root them all out, and by Gods just judgement received such measure as he had measured. A quarrel arose whether Saint

Mary

Mary ſhould be called *The Mother or Parent of MAN, or that Parent of GOD: Neſtorius*, to the end the controverſie was againſt both, and would have her called, *The Parent of Chriſt who was God and man* (*but not of God:*) Some ſtartled at this; And *Cyril* of *Alexandria* (a man of great parts, ſpirit and power, the head of a turbulent people, the firſt Biſhop, ſaith *Socrates*, that *aſſumed the Sword*) wrote Letters of reproof to him; and *Celeſtine*, Biſhop of *Rome* ſeconded him: yea *Cyril* followeth it with writing upon writing, to prove that S. *Mary* muſt be called *the Parent of God*; with ſo great a number of words, and ſo many Anathematiſms, as made the noiſe and flame great, but ambiguity made it ſeem dangerous to many; ſo that it grew to a great and open controverſie, whether *Neſtorius* or *Cyril* was a damnable Heretick; ſome ſo calling one, and ſome the other; ſo that the Emperour *Theod.* 2. was fain to call a General Council at *Epheſus*, to prevent the utter confuſion of the Churches: There *Neſtorius* came firſt, and once only appeared; and being charged with the Hereſie of denying *Mary* to be the *Parent of God*, he told them, *that he would not ſay that God was two or three months old*, and ſo departed. To *Cyrils* large writings, he returned a ſhort Letter, profeſſing, *that he was for the diſtinction of Natures only in the Unity of Perſon*; but at large proveth that Chriſts Godhead had *no beginning*, that it could not *ſuffer, or die, nor riſe again*; and therefore that thoſe things which were ſaid of the *Manhood*, muſt not be ſaid of the *Godhead*, that it was *begotten, dyed, &c.* unleſs they would be Hereticks or Pagans. Read their confeſſion

brought

brought into the Council againſt them by *Charyſius* and their Anathemata's after; and I think you will ſee, that the errour of *Neſtorius* lay in his want of skill in ſpeaking, and that one ſide ſpoke of a phraſe *de abſtracto*, and the *other* of the *Concrete*; and if ſo, both meant the ſame thing; though *Cyril* was judged to uſe the moſt skilful words: *Cyril* denyed not but that the *Deity* was not *begotten* or *Crucified*, but ſaid that *God was begotten* and *Crucified*, and *was paſſible*; *Neſtorius* denyed not that he who was God in one perſon with the manhood, was begotten, Crucified and paſſible, but not the *Deity*. But *Cyril* ſaid that the phraſe [*God was born, Crucified*, &c.] was good; yea neceſſary, and not (without anathematized hereſie) to be denyed, becauſe in one perſon the *titles* and actions are communicable: *Neſtorius* ſaid, that it was wicked to communicate the infirmities of humanity to the Deity, as to ſay, *God did grow bigger, and was afraid, and was hungry, and needed help from Angels, and died.*) For he thought this phraſe applied it to the Deity: (Let any man that's impartial, judge whether this Controverſie were not about *words* rather than *matter*.) *Theodoret* was a greater Scholar than *Neſtorius*, and he became the Champion of his Cauſe, ſuppoſing that *Locutio formalis eſt maxime propria*; and therefore that he that ſaith *God had a beginning, increaſe, death, paſſions*, muſt be ſuppoſed to mean it, *qua Deus*, as he is God: And ſo two Saints, St. *Cyril* and St. *Theodoret*, fell at large to prove each other damnable Hereticks. *John*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, being far off, was long in coming to the Synod. *Memnon*, Biſhop of *Epheſus*, joyning with *Cyril*, before he

Biſhops came, beg n and condemned, and

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depoſed *Neſtorius* as a Heretick. *Neſtorius* let them all alone, and medled little himſelf, alledging that *Candidianus Comes* forbad him to appear. But when *John* of *Ant.* came, he took *Neſtorius*'s part, and gathered a Council with himſelf, and *Candidianus* the Emperours Officer took his part. *John*'s Council condemned and depoſed *Cyril* and *Memnon*, as they had done *Neſtorius*: And thus two Councils at *Epheſus* ſate damning one another. The Emperour knew not what to do with them, but requireth each party to ſend ſome of their Biſhops to him: when they came, he permitted them not long to come neerer than *Calcedon*, for fear of tumults: while they were there, the people of *Conſtantinople* flocked to them, and moſt of the people being for *Neſtorius*, and moſt of the Courtiers, Clergy and Monks againſt him, they fell into diſſention to the ſtoning of ſome about their Meetings, for Preaching to the People. *Theodoret* and his Aſſociates proſecuted it againſt *Cyril*, as thoſe that declared their reſolution to die rather than yield to his Hereſies (as they called them) and accuſed him as if he had been the moſt proud, unquiet troubler of the world. The other ſide anſwerably accuſed them of dangerous blaſphemy and hereſie. At laſt the Emperour thought it the beſt way for peace, to ſend *Johan. Comes Largitionum* with power and commiſſion to depoſe the Leaders that each Party had depoſed, *viz.* *Neſtorius*, and *Cyril* and *Memnon*: But *John* wrote an Epiſtle to the Emperour, how furious they were againſt each other, and how *Cyril*'s Party would not hear the Emperour's Letters, becauſe *Neſtorius* was there, and how they raged and fell to fighting (a dole-

ful

ful ſtory.) But at laſt the Emperour ſeeing that *Cyril* had the ſtronger (and the orthodox) ſide, and the Court and Clergy being againſt *Neſtorius*, and yet being loth to divide *Joh. Antioch.* and the Oriental Biſhops from the reſt, thought it the moſt healing way to depoſe *Neſtorius* alone, and reſtore *Cyril* and *Memnon*, and to charge (*magnâ cum ſeveritate jubet*, ſaith *Bin.* Notes) *Joh. Ant.* to be reconciled with *Cyril*, and to unite; ſo that *Joh.* and *Theodoret*, and the Oriental Biſhops moved with fear, and deſiring peace, ſent their Confeſſion to *Cyril*, and *Cyril* ſaid, it was the ſame that he meant; and ſo they were ſuddenly made all Orthodox, that had not underſtood it but by the Rod: But *Neſtorius* returned to his Monaſtery by *Antioch* (*Chryſoſtom*'s place) and there liv'd four years in great peace and reputation; but then he was no longer to be there endured, but baniſhed into forein Countries, driven about in ſufferings, in which he died. And *Theodoret*, it ſeems, was not well reconciled, when, hearing of the death of *Cyril*, he wrote to *Joh. Antioch.* that now there was hope the Churches might have peace, the great enemy of all peace being gone to the place where ſuch men ceaſe to trouble, &c. But ſo great was the rupture thus made, that to this day it is not healed, great part of the Eaſt adhering then to *Neſtorius*, and thoſe Country-Chriſtians being called *Neſtorian* Hereticks, and out of the Church by the Papiſts to diſgrace them, becauſe they will not own their Pope. *Neſtorius* being thus condemned, *Eutyches* thought he would be far enough from his Hereſie, and ſaid, that the *Union of Chriſt's two Natures made them to be but one*: This Hereſie one

Council at *Conſtant.* under *Flavian*, condemned. Another after by the countenance of the Emperour acquit him: The Emperour *Theod. 2.* commandeth a General Council again at *Epheſus*, and maketh *Dioſcorus* Preſident; who being *Cyril's* Succeſſor, though he had held to his Doctrine againſt *Neſtorius*, for the *Unitive Predication*; and though he profeſſed that the Synod medled not *de fide*, but about matter of Juſtice between *Flavian* and *Eutyches*, yet countenanced by the Emperour, he domineered, and by threatning got all the General Council ſave the Popes Legates to ſubſcribe againſt *Flavian*, and he was beaten, and died of the hurt, ſaith *Bin.* Notes, *In hoc tam horrendo Epiſcoporum ſuffragio ſola Naviculâ Petri incolumis emergens, ſalvatur.* The whole Council went againſt the Pope, and the right: But ſure Chriſt's United Natures are in ſeveral ſenſes both *two* and *one*; but two in the primary and moſt proper ſenſe.

Thus you ſee what unhappineſs even this National Government of Biſhops in thoſe good times was lyable to. It was by Biſhops ſtriving who ſhould be chief that the *Donatiſts* ſet up againſt the Catholicks, and the very *Novatians* were not free; much leſs the *Appolinarians*, and moſt others that cauſed the Schiſms of thoſe times, in which the Biſhops were almoſt ever the chief cauſe. Even ſuch worthy men as *Theophilus*, *Alex.* and *Epiphanius* could not endure *Chryſoſtom*; ſuch men ejected him once and again, as *Theodoret* ſaith he purpoſely forbeareth to name for reverence of their virtues. And if you come to the fourth Great General Council at *Calcedon* you will find the ſame cauſe of lamentatio[n]

tation, and that even worthy men in ſuch temptations are frail, when a new Emperour *Martian* was on the other ſide, (the right;) when *Dioſcorus* had profeſſed that he was neither for *tranſmutation*, *diviſion*, *nor confuſion of Chriſt's natures* (and therefore was for *diſtinction*;) when the *Egyptian* Biſhops profeſſed their conſent with the Synod, only craving that they might not be put to Anathematize *Dioſcorus* till they had another Patriarch, but ſo long to delay; when they profeſſed that if they did, they were ſure to be killed when they came home, and falling on the Earth cryed to their brethren *miſeremini miſeremini* ſpare us or kill us here; yet they cry out hereticks, hereticks, away with them, till the civil Judges reſcued them: and how many of theſe had but lately ſubſcribed againſt *Flavianus* at *Epheſus*, (& here were in one point for *Leo*, and in another againſt him:) *Leo's* Epiſtle which was for their cauſe againſt *Dioſcorus* they cryed up; and condemned *Dioſcorus* for excommunicating the Pope; but the Canon for exalting *Conſtantinople*, they maintained againſt *Leo's* will, and contemptuouſly cryed out *Qui aliter ſentiunt Romam ambulent*; he that readeth the *clamours* at this Council, and how the ſame Biſhops that had lately ſubſcribed the condemnation of *Flavianus* with *Dioſcorus* were zealous here on the other ſide, and cryed out *omnes peccavimus*, excuſing it by their fear of threatnings and Souldiers, when a poor Chriſtian woman could have ſuffered Martyrdom rather than ſin; And he that readeth how after all this they were ſo ready to Anathematize others, and to contemn the proſtrate *Egyptian* Biſhops, will

that he seeth the first Council of *Constantinople* as described by *Nazianzen* here exemplified, notwithstanding the honour that is due to them for their orthodoxness. You see in this much how the great Bishops at the first five General Councils (*Nic.* 1. *Const.* 1. *Eph.* 1, & 2. And *Calced.*) did carry it. But when they were asunder were they settled, & did they keep the Churches in concord by these Councils? Let us but, for one instance, consider what followed this excellent Council of *Calcedon*; 1. *Leo* the Bishop of *Rome* approved it against *Dioscorus*, but abhorred the 28th Canon, which set up *Constantinople* with equal priviledges, and that above *Alexandria* and *Antioch*: So that the Pope rested not in this Council. 2. What sedition there was at *Alexandria* upon the change made by this Council all the dates of *Martian*, and of the murder of *Proterius* presently after, *Liberatus in Breviario*, and many other tell at large. 3. In *Palestine* the Monks that had been at the Council, returned lamenting that the faith was there betrayed, and stird up their fraternity to rescind the acts: They expelled *Juvenal* Bishop of *Jerusalem*; The Empress *Eudocia* took their part: They killed *Severianus* Bishop of *Scythopolis*: They compelled men to communicate with them: They murdered *Athanasius* a Deacon at *Jerusalem* for contradicting them, and gave his flesh to dogs; They compelled *Dorotheus* the Emperours Lieutenant to joyn with them, till after 20 months *Juvenal* was restored *Niceph. l.* 15. *c.* 9. And in many Countries this contention followed; and the women *Eudocia and Pulcheria* had no small hand in all, till *Pulcheria* procured *Eudocias* Conversion to approve the Council.

3. Where

3. When *Leo* came to reign, the ſedition revived at *Alexandria* between the murderers of *Proterius*: *Timothy Elurus* made Biſhop by the Councils enemies, depoſed by *Leo*, and *Timothy*, *Salophaciolus* put in his place, and all was in confuſion. The *Egyptian* Biſhops write to the Emperour againſt the *Eutychian*; The Emperour ſends forth his circular letters for the Council; *Niceph. l.* 15. *c.* 17. 18. 19. 4. At *Antioch*, *Petrus*, *Cnapheus* ambitious of the Biſhoprick, got into *Martyrius* place by *Leo's* help, and anathematized all that would not ſay that *God was Crucified and Suffered*, and tore that Church in pieces: *Martirius*, when he could do no good, forſook them, with theſe words [*Clero rebelli et populo inobedienti & eccleſiæ contaminatæ nuncium remitto*:] *Cnapheus* reviled the Council: *Leo* for this baniſhed him: *Stephanus*, a friend of the Council, ſucceeded him; him boyes killed with ſharp quils and caſt him into the river for favouring the Council: And *Calendion* ſucceeding him, made them Anathematize the aforeſaid *Cnapheus*. *Leo* being dead, diſſolute *Zeno* reigned. *Baſiliſcus* taking advantage of his lewd life, uſurped the Empire, and made uſe of the Schiſms to promote his ends: And firſt publiſheth his circular againſt the Council of *Calcedon*; to this ſaith *Niceph. l.* 16. *c.* 4. beſides the three Patriarchs no leſs than five hundred Biſhops ſubſcribed, and renounced the Council. But *Acacius* of *Conſtantin.* and *Dav. Columella* perſwaded *Baſiliſcus* quickly to write clean contrary Letters for the Council, ſeeing that this was like to prove the ſtronger ſide. And when *Zeno* was reſtored, who was for the Council, the *Aſian* Biſhops turned again, and

wrote to *Acasius* to be pardoned, saying that they subscribed to *Basiliscus* first Letters, not voluntarily, but through fear *Nceph.l.* 16. c. 9. Then things were turned back again, till *Zeno* thought it the best way to write his *Henoticon* or a Conciliatory edict, that none should be forced to profess themselves either for or against the Council, perceiving that the Bishops would never come to agreement either as for it or against it: But this ended not the divisions; But at *Antioch Calendion* was cast out. And *Pet. Cnaphens* got in again: And at *Alexandria* between *Peter Moggus* and *John* striving who should hold the place, all was in confusion. Yea the Schism reached to *Rome* also; for *Moggus* at *Alexandria* Anathematizing the Council, and persecuting dissenters, The Emperour seeks to reconcile them; *Felix* at *Rome* condemneth *Acasius* at *Constantinople*, for communicating with *Moggus*: *Acasius* condemneth *Felix*, blotting his name out of the Sacred Albe. *Acasius* dyeth, and the Emperour found it so hard to choose a Patriarch, that should cause no sedition, that he will have God choose one; and to that end puts a blanck paper on the Altar, and another requesting God that an Angel might write there the name of the Patriarch that should possess the place: The doors are lock't, and forty daies fasting and prayer commanded to prevail with God: One *Flavitas* briberth the Key-Keeper, who was the Emperours Lord Chamberlain, and he writeth, *Flavitas* name in the Paper and sealeth up the door again, and so there was a Patriarch chosen by an Angel; but dyed suddenly within four months: But before he dyed, he joyned with

Peter

Peter of Alexandria by ſynodal Letters to Anathematize the Council of *Calcedon* and yet wrote to the Biſhop of *Rome* that he renounced Communion with *Peter*; and he wrote to *Peter* that he renounced Communion with the Biſhop of *Rome*. *Euphemius* ſucceeded him, and he raſed *Peters* name out of the Book, and joyned with the Roman Biſhop. *Peter* and *Euphemius* as Generals were gathering ſynodical Armies againſt each other, and *Peter* dyeth. *Athanaſius* that ſucceeded him, would fain have reconciled his Church but could not: *Palladius* ſucceeded *Peter Cnapheus* at *Antioch*: Both theſe Patriarchs joyn together to curſe the Council of *Calcedon*; They die: *John* ſucceeded at *Alexandria* and *Flavianus* at *Antioch*: Theſe alſo joyn to curſe the Council, while the Patriarchs of *Rome* and *Conſtantinople* are for it, and curſe them. *Zeno* dieth, and *Anaſtaſius Dicorus* is choſen Emperour. He (ſaith *Niceph. l. 16. c. 25*) being a man of Peace, and deſiring the ceaſing of all contention, left all to their liberty to think of the Council of *Calcedon* as they pleaſed: Hereupon the Biſhops fell into three Parties, ſome fervent for every word of the Council; ſome curſed it; and ſome were for *Zeno*'s Henoticon, or ſilence, or ſuſpenſion: Theſe renounced communion accordingly with one another; the Eaſt was one way; the Weſt another; and *Libya* another: Nay, the Eaſtern Biſhops among themſelves; the Weſtern among themſelves, and the Lybian among themſelves, renounced communion with each other (*Niceph. c. 25*) *Tanta confuſio mentiumque Caligo* (ſaith the Hiſtorian) *orbem univerſum inceſſit*. The Emperour having reſolved to keep peace, and

make

make no change, was forced to fall upon those of both sides that were most turbulent. At *Constantinople* he put out *Euphemius* (or for dislike of him.) This Emperour, before his inthroning, had given under his hand to *Euphemius*, a promise to stand for the Council: He demanded his writing again; *Euphemius* denied him, and was cast out: *Macedonius* succeeded him: He had the same writing: The Emperour demanded it of him: He also denied him: The Emperour would have put him out: The people rise up in sedition, and cryed, *It is a time of Martyrdom: Let us all stick to the Bishop*: And they reviled the Emperour, calling him a Manichee, unworthy the Empire. The Emperour was fain to submit to *Macedonius*, who sharply rebuked him as the Churches enemy; but in time he remembred this, and cast out *Macedonius*, and burnt the Councils Acts, and put *Timothy* in his place, who presently pull'd down the Image of *Macedonius*: The Patriarchs also of *Alex. Antioch*, & Bishop of *Jerusalem*, were all cast out, even those that were against the Council. *Pet. Gnapheus* had made one *Xenaias* a *Persian* servant & unbaptized, Bishop of *Hierapolis*: He was against Images, and brought a troop of Monks to *Antioch*, to force *Flavianus* the Bishop to curse the Council: *Flavianus* denied it: The people stuck to the Bishop, and so unanswerably disputed down the Monks, that so great a multitude of them were slain, as that they threw their bodies into the River *Orontes*, to save them labour of burying of them. (*Nicep.* c. 27.) But this was not all; another troop of Monks of *Galosyria*, that were of *Flavianus* side, hearing of the tumult, flockt to *Antioch*, and made ano-

another ſlaughter as great as the former (ſaith the Hiſtorian,) For this the Emperour baniſhed *Flavianus*, whoſe followers thought his puniſhment too great after all theſe murders. *Peter* being dead, the Biſhops of *Alexandria*, *Egypt* and *Lybia*, fell in pieces among themſelves; each having their ſeparate Conventions: The reſt of the Eaſt alſo ſeparated from the Weſt, becauſe the Weſt would not communicate with them, unleſs they would curſe *Neſtorius*, *Eutyches*, *Dioſcorus*, *Moggus*, and *Acacius*. And yet (ſaith *Niceph. l.* 16. *c.* 28.) *Qui Germani Dioſcori & Eutychetis ſectatores fuere, ad maximam pauciatem redacti ſunt.* *Xenaias* bringeth to *Flavian* the names of *Theodore*, *Theodorite*, *Ibas*, and others, as *Neſtorians*, and tells him, if he anathematize not all theſe, he is a *Neſtorian*, whatever he ſay to the contrary: *Flavian* was unwilling, but his timerous fellow-Biſhops perſwading him, he wrote his curſe againſt them, and ſent it to the Emperour. *Xenaias* then went further, and required him to curſe the Council: They prevailed with the *Iſaurian* Biſhops to conſent, and all renounced the refuſers as *Neſtorians*: And thus the Council having (in name) condemned the *Neſtorians* and *Eutychians*, the *Eutychians* called all *Neſtorians* that curſed not the Council, and got many caſt out. After *Flavian*, *Severus* got in at *Antioch*: The firſt day he curſed the Council (though it's ſaid that he ſwore to the Emperour before that he would not) *Nicep. c.* 29. In *Paleſtine* there were renewed the like confuſions about the condemnation of *Flavian* and *Macedonius*: About *Antioch Severus* Letters frightened many Biſhops to curſe the Council, and thoſe

that

that held two Natures: Some Bishops revoked their sentence, and said they did it for fear: Some stood out: And the *Isaurian* Bishops, when they repented, condemned *Severus* himself, that drove them to subscribe: And some Bishops fled from their Churches for fear. *Cosmas* and *Severianus* sent a condemnation to *Severus*: The Emperour hearing of it, sent his Procurator to cast them out of their Bishopricks for presuming to condemn their Patriarchs. The Procurator found the people so resolute, that he sent word to the Emperour, that these two Bishops could not be cast out without blood-shed: The Emperour answered; that he would not have a drop of blood shed for the business. *Helias* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, found all the other Churches in such confusion, condemning one another, that he would communicate with none of them but *Euphemius* at *Const. Nicep. c.* 32. And that you may see how people then were moved, a Monk or Abbot *Theodosius* gathering an Assembly, loudly cryed out in the Pulpit, [*If any man equal not the four Councils with the four Evangelists, let him be Anathema.*] This voice of their Captain resolved them all, and they took it as a Law, that the four Councils should be [*sacris libris accensenda*] and wrote to the Emperour *certamen se de eis ad sanguinem usq; subituros.* (This was then the submission to Princes by the adherents to the Councils of the Bishops. And they went about to the Cities to bring them to joyn with them. The Emperour wrote to *Helias* to reform this: He rejecting his Letters, Souldiers were sent to compel them. The Orthodox Monks gathered by the Bishops, *tumultuously cast the Emperours Souldiers out of* the

the Church: (*c.* 34) After another conflux they anathematized thoſe that adhered to *Severus*. The Emperour provoked, ſent *Olympius* with a band of Souldiers to conquer them. He came and caſt out *Helias*, and put in *John*: The Monks gather again, and the Souldiers being gone, they cauſe *John* to engage himſelf to be againſt *Severus*, and ſtand for the Council, though unto blood; which, contrary to his word to *Olympius*, he did. The Emperour depoſed *Olympius*, and ſent another Captain *Anaſtaſius*, who put the Biſhop in priſon, and commanded him to deſpiſe the Council; conſulting with another Biſhop, he promiſed to obey him, if he would but let him out of priſon two daies before, that it might not ſeem a forced act: This being done, the Biſhop contrarily to the Congregation in the pulpit, before the Captain cryeth out [*If any aſſent to Eutyches and Neſtorius* (contraries) *and Severus and Soterichus Caſar, let him be Anathema*: *If any follow not the Opinions of the four univerſal Synods, let him be Anathema.*] The Captain thus deluded, fled from the multitude, and was glad to ſave himſelf: The Emperour being offended at this, the Biſhops write to him that at *Jeruſalem*, the fountain of Doctrine, they were not now to learn the Truth, and *they would defend the Traditions, if need be, even to blood.*] *Nic. p. c.* 34.

Timothy Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* took the manpleaſing way, and one while was for the *Calcedon* Council, another while he curſed it. Being to chooſe an Abbat, the Abbat refuſed his election, unleſs he conſented to the Council of *Calcedon*. *Timothy* curſed thoſe preſently that received not the Council: His Archdeacon hearing him, reproached

reproached him that like *Euripus*, roled every way: The Emperour hearing it, rebuked him, and *Timothy* washt away the charge and presently curſed every one that received the Council, *Niceph. c.* 35. Yet *Rome* though now under another King (*Theodorick* an *Arrian* Goth) had a part in the Schiſm: *Feſtus* a Roman Senator was ſent from *Theodorick* to the Emperour on an Embaſſie: Which when he had done, he deſired that *Conſtantinople* would keep holy daies for *Peter* and *Paul* as *Rome* did, and he prevailed: And he ſecretly aſſured the Emperour that *Anaſtaſius* Biſhop of *Rome* would receive the Henoticon (to ſuſpend the conſent to the *Calcedon* Council) and would ſubſcribe it. But when the Embaſſadour came home, the Pope was dead: To make good his word, he got a party to chooſe *Laurentius* Pope, that would do it: The people (that then had the chief choice) choſe *Symmachus* ſo there were two Popes: And the ſedition continued three years *not without* ſlaughters, rapines and other calamities (*Niceph. c.* 35.) till *Theodorick* an *Arrian* more righteous than the Popes, called a ſynod and confirmed *Symmachus*: But *Laurentius* ſtirred up the people to ſedition and was quite degraded. The Emperour favouring the addition [*Qui Crucifixus eſt pro nobis*] the people ſeditiouſly cut off a Monks head and ſet it up on a pole inſcribing it *an enemy to* the Trinity: The Emperour overcome with their confuſion and orthodox rebellions, called an aſſembly and offered to reſign his Crown, deſiring them to chooſe another, which ſmote them with ſuch remorſe, that they deſired him to reaſſume his Crown and promiſed to for-

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bear ſedition: But he dyed ſhortly after. But I muſt not tranſcribe hiſtorical Volumes. *Juſtin* ſucceeded *Anaſtaſius* in the Empire, and *Juſtinian* him: Theſe were for the Synod: But *Theodora Juſtinians* Wife was againſt it: Some thought by compact, that each part might have a head, which was indeed but one (*Niceph. l. 17. c. 7.*) Should I tell you in their reigns how the Eccleſiaſtical war continued, how Pope *Agathon manus impoſuit Menæ Conſtant. quod antea nunquam factum eſt, Niceph. c. 9;* How *Menas* and the Pope excommunicated one another, and how *Juſtinian* uſed *Vigilius* the Pope, &c. it would be over tedious to tell. I have wrote this much to ſhew you how far the Patriarchal ſeats conduced to the Churches peace, and how far the four firſt Councils of Biſhops cauſed Chriſtian Love and Concord: No ſuch things can be ſaid of the *Arabians*, and *Novatian Phrygians* and others that had Biſhops in the villages: Should I but now turn to *Rome* and tell you what was done there, all this Confuſion, blood and miſery is but a jeaſt to it: But I have ſaid enough of that in many treatiſes againſt Popery; and particularly of the above 40 years Schiſm when they had 2 or 3 Popes at once; and of the above 50 Popes that *Baronius* and *Genebrard* themſelves call Apoſtatical, put in by whores and poyſon, men not to be named, ſave to keep a reckoning of the times; many damned by Councils as horrid Adulterers, Murderers, Simoniſts, Hereticks, or Infidels: Nor will I recite how in the many wars between the Popes and Emperours, the Biſhops ſwore, and unſwore, and forſwore as the upper ſide compelled them, as *Urſpergenſis* com-

complaineth. Nor will I ſtand to tell you, how the Pope and Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* (to whom adhere thoſe of *Antioch*, *Alexandria* and *Jeruſalem*) have theſe thouſand years almoſt, divided and diſtracted the Chriſtian world, by ſtriving which ſhould be the greateſt, when Chriſt had ſo fully decided the caſe. But what now if after ſo many hundred years confuſion it ſhould prove, that all this ſtir was in the dark, and that *Neſtorius Eutyches*, and *Dioſcorus* were of the ſame mind except in words: Can the tongue of man then ſufficiently expreſs the Biſhops guilt? A rare French Divine and Philoſopher *David Derodon* hath written a Treatiſe *de ſuppoſito*, copiouſly proving that *Neſtorius* was orthodox, and *Cyril* an heretick, and all the firſt *Epheſin* Council that adhered to him; that *Eutyches* and *Dioſcorus* taught but the ſame hereſie that *Cyril* did; that the Council of *Calcedon* ignorantly condemned *Neſtorius* and truly ſtabliſhed his opinion; and cryed up *Cyril* and damned his doctrine: And he citeth abundant paſſages out of *Cyril*, where he expreſly denyeth two natures in Chriſt, (as *Ep.* 2. *ad ſucceſs. In Chriſto duas naturas unitas aſſerimus: poſt unionem vero ademptâ jam in duas diviſione, unam eſſe credimus naturam filii incarnati*:) And that *Neſtorius* expreſly aſſureth that there are two natures and but one perſon: The citations are numerous and undeniable. But I think that *Cyril*, *Eutyches* and *Dioſcorus* (who were all of one mind) did mean that the natures were but *one* in oppoſition to *diviſion*, but not in oppoſition to *diſtinction*. And that *Neſtorius* ſaid they were two as *diſtinguiſhed* but not as divided, and all

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this blood, ſeparation and confuſion was between men of one mind, for want of skill in the explication of words, and through worldly deſigns. I know ſome will ſay, *were all theſe Councils of Biſhops ſuch fools in compariſon of you?* But can a man deny notorious truth in reverence to Biſhops? If ſo, which part of the Biſhops muſt I believe if they ſay the ſnow is black: The *Arrians*, and *Eutychians* were far the greater number.

And now as the beſt Philoſophers think that experiments *de facto* muſt be premiſed to the Theory, ſo we think this touch of hiſtory muſt be conſidered by them that think Jewiſh High Prieſthood, or National, Patriarchal or Metropolitical ſuperiority is the neceſſary means of the Churches Concord: Let them compare the diſſentions cauſed by little village Biſhops and ſynods for meer Concord, yea or by ſeparating heady people, with theſe which Patriarchall and Metropolitical ſeats have cauſed, and they will appear to be to them but as a ſcuffle at Billinſgate to the French Wars: And yet we have inſtanced but in the beſt times of dominion, in compariſon of which Councils, Prelates and later times have been a meer *hurricane*. In a word, they that think that the miſchiefs of *ſuperiour ſeats* are greater than the benefits, do appeal to *all Church hiſtory*, whether they have not been the true and principal cauſes of the diſtractions of the Chriſtian world, and of the long diviſion of the Eaſt and Weſt, and of many civil and grievous wars.

§ 40. And to the objections they ſay, I. As to Appeals and Government of Inferiors, 1. That the laſt appeals have ever been made to General Councils: And how they went when ever the

Prince did but countenance errour, (as in the daies of *Constantius* and *Valens*, many great Councils that were for the *Arrians*, and in *Theodosius Juniors* time, for the *Eutychians* &c.) is too sad to think on. And is it not far more dangerous for many hundred in a Council to bear down a whole Empire or Kingdom, and raise persecution, and there be no appeal from them, than for a poor Priest to put a man from the Sacrament in his own Parish Church? How many Councils have been against Images in Churches, and how many for them, condemning one anothers acts? What good will appeals do to such, 2. In doctrinal cases the consent of many tends to concord: But in cases of personal practice, are they fit judges to appeal to, that dwell many hundred miles off, and know none of the persons; suppose a poor man in *England* is put from the Communion by a Parish-Priest (yea, perhaps an hundred or many hundred in some parishes) because he findeth some to be utterly ignorant some to be drunkards, fornicators, heretical, &c. If these appeal but to a Diocesan which dwelleth 20. miles from some, 40, or 60, or 100 miles from others, the remedy is worse than the disease: For if the Priest must travel so far, and bring his witnesses and plead the cause with men that never saw the party before, (where neighbourhood giveth a surer knowledge than any such examination of strangers can do, and a strange Chancelor or Diocesan knoweth not which witnesses are most credible) and all this while his Pastoral Charge (perhaps many thousand souls) must be neglected, while the Minister is prosecuting these appealing sinners; will not the evil of this be greater than the benefit? But how much more if

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every ſinner muſt appeal to a Patriarch many hundred miles off? A ſober mind will be aſhamed to think of the proceſs of ſuch a ſuit. If you ſay that it is not in the caſe of ſuch ſinners as theſe whereof every Pariſh abounds, that you would have appeals, at leaſt not to Patriarchs, ſo far off; I anſwer, 1. Then anſwer your own objection: What remedy ſhall they have if the Biſhop wrong them? 2. What is the caſe than that you ſuppoſe ſuch ſupraordinations of power neceſſary for? If you ſay, *If Miniſters themſelves ſhould be excommunicate*, It is anſwered, That none but Biſhops or other ſuperior powers pretend authoritatively as Rectors to excommunicate Paſtors; Therefore this is nothing to them that are againſt all ſuch ſuperiority of Paſtors: Where none ſuch are, none ſuch can excommunicate, or be injurious. And if there muſt be a higher Biſhop to deliver men from the injuries of a lower, who ſhould deliver us from him, who may injure Kingdoms?

Obj. *But it is ſuppoſed that Patriarchs are wiſer and better men than Metropolitans, and thoſe than Biſhops, and thoſe than Prieſts: And that a meer Prieſt is not to be truſted with the power of the Keys.*

Anſ. 1. The power of the Keys of his particular Church is eſſential to his Office; 2. They that will make Prieſts of raw lads and naughty fellows, and then plead that ſuch muſt not be truſted with the Office which they themſelves ordained them to, do condemn themſelves by ſuch allegations, 3. The old Church Government was, for every particular Church, no more numerous than our Pariſhes, to have a Biſhop and Presbyters: And theſe were thought ſufficient to judge who was fit for their own Communion, 4. *Hierom* was but a Prieſt, &c. And *Macedonius*, *Neſtorius*, *Dioſcorus*, *Timothy*

Elurus, Peter Moggus, Gregory Alex. Lucius Al. Joh. Al. Theodosius Al. Eulalius Antioch. Euphronius Ant. Placitus Ant. Stephanus Ant. Leontius Ant. Eudoxius Ant. Euzoius Ant. all Hereticks were all Patriarchs; and to reckon the enormities of the Roman High Priests, is a needless work. Is it to be supposed then, that these were better than Priests? Doth Christ say that it is as hard for a rich man to enter into Heaven as for a Camel to go through a needles eye, and shall we that are Christians say, that it is to be supposed that the rich clergie are better men than the poor? When *Greg. Nazianz.* Saith that such great places use to make Bishops worse than they were before. All history tells us what striving there was for such places? When *Eusebius* refused *Antioch*, two Priests were presently at *Constantines* elbow to beg that place, and he was fain to mention them (though they were not chosen.) What a stir did *Maximus* make at *Constantinople*, *Egypt*, and with the Emperour to have got *Gregories* place at *Constantinople*? And so with others. And is it not a fleshly, proud and wordly mind (which is the work of the Devil) which is the importunate seeker? And must we needs appeal to such? 3. But to come neerer, what need is there of any such appeal or such a Government, if, 1. A Bishop with his Presbyters be over every particular Church (associated for personal Communion in holy doctrine, worship and Conversation?) 2. And if these Churches associate for meer concord and mutual help (and not for Governing Bishops?) 3. And if the Magistrate govern them all as he doth Philosophers, Physicians, &c. For 1. If a Bishop of a particular Church deny one the Sacrament or excommunicate him

him, he doth it juſtly or unjuſtly: If juſtly, the perſon muſt ſubmit: If unjuſtly, he may be received by a neighbour Biſhop who is not bound to reject thoſe whom upon trial he findeth to have been wrongfully excommunicated: All neighbour Churches muſt refuſe thoſe that are by any one excommunicated juſtly; but not all that are wrongfully caſt out. Some ſay that he that doth excommunicate doth caſt a man out of the whole Church, and therefore no one elſe may receive him: But unexplained words muſt not ſerve to confound truth, Souls and Congregations. Every Miniſter is a Miniſter in the Univerſal Church (as every Phyſician and Schoolmaſter is in and to the Kingdom (indefinitely, not univerſally) but his *work* and *power* are commenſurate; his *power* being only *to and for his work*. Therefore the Biſhop or Paſtor of one particular Church or Pariſh, is bound to confine his ordinary labour to them, though occaſionally he may help others. And accordingly his power is to uſe the Keys *ordinarily for his own Church only*, as to the *direct effect*: though *extraordinarily* he may uſe it in other Churches when called thereto; and by *conſequence* it may reach further: For few Biſhops will think if another Biſhop come into their Dioceſſes or Pariſhes and excommunicate divers of their flocks, that *they* and *all others* are bound to ſtand to ſuch mens ſentence, and to hold ſuch excommunicate. That which a Paſtor doth in ordinary Excommunicating, is to declare (after proof) that *This perſon is by his ſin and impenitency made unſapable of Communion with the Church, and therefore to require him to forbear it, and the people to avoid Communion with him; and to pronounce him unpardoned before God,*

till he repent. Now if this be done by one known to be heretical with whom the other Churches have no Commnnion, thoſe other Churches are not bound to deny that man Communion. Nor yet if he offer himſelf to their Communion, and they examine the matter, and find him wronged. It is concord in good, and not in evil, that we are bound to by the command of God: Therefore if any man be wrongfully put out of this Church, the next may and ſhould receive him: And what neceſſity is there then, of going a thouſand or an hundred miles to a Pope, or Patriarch, or Dioceſan, to right him? And whoever thought that there was need of an Univerſal Phyſician, or Schoolmaſter, or a General Council of ſuch to receive appeals from Patients and Scholars that are wrongfully turned out of the Hoſpital or School?

The Caviller will here tell you of diſparities in the caſes; but the queſtion is, whether the diſparities be ſuch as alter the reaſon of the Concluſion. What man of conſcience will be a Phyſician, Schoolmaſter or Paſtor, that hath not power to judge whom to receive for his Patient, Scholar, or part of his flock, but muſt take all that ſome other man ſhall ſend to him, or command him to receive, and give them what others command him to give? An Apothecary may do ſo, but not a Phyſician. What if a man had no other ſcandal, but to ſay, *I will not take you for my Paſtor, nor take my ſelf obliged to anſwer you, ſpeak with you, give you any account of my ſelf, nor be queſtioned by you on any accuſation*, muſt I be conſtrained to ſuppoſe this man to be one of my flock in deſpite of his own denyal? If the freedom of conſent be not mutual, but I muſt be conſtrained to take thoſe

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for my charge as Christians, that renounce such a relation, or will not own it; a Pastor is not a free man, nor hath any power of the Church-Keys, but is as an irrational Slave, a Cryer, or Executioner, that must but execute another mans commands.

2. But if there be need of appeals, and our own actions must not be free, why will not the Synods of Neighbour-Pastors met only for *Counsel* and *Concord* (and not to command the Pastors) suffice for such persons to appeal to? And what if I turn a servant out of my house, or from his meat, and he may take another Master when he will, must there be an universal Judge of all family cases, that shall force me to keep my servant against my will? Is it not enough that I know why I am unwilling to keep him, who am no way more bound to him than to others, but by my own consent? What if (as *Nazianzen* left *Sasimis*, *Constantinople*, and *Nazianzum* at last) I should give up my whole Charge and Bishoprick, and say, I will be a Pastor to none of them any more, (upon sufficient reasons, as *Latimer* did:) Is it not better for the people to take another, than to accuse me at *Rome*, or *Canterbury*, as wronging them?

3. But if all this serve not (neither the sufficiency of Pastors for one single Parish, nor yet the Counsel of all the Neighbour-Pastors or Bishops,) what is there more to be done, which the authority of *Princes and Magistrates* may not do? All Christians confess (almost) that no Bishops or Pastors, as such, have from Christ any forcing power over the flocks, that belongeth to the Magistrates only; And *they* are to keep peace, and force us to our certain duty. And I would ask the contrary-minded, whether if Bishops, Patriarchs and Coun-

cils had no forcing power, but only to excommunicate by the application of Gods word, and leaving all men to their consciences, would this sort of Government serve their turn, and keep out Heresies, or maintain order and unity? They say no, themselves: And next, whether it be not certain, and confessed, that the Pastors have no other power, but the Magistrates only?

Obj. *But shall all men gather Churches, and teach Heresie, and do what they will?*

Answ. 1. The power of Popes, Patriarchs or Councils, did not prevent it, when there were all the Heresies that fill *Epiphanius* Volumns: And when the far greatest part of the Clergy was long *Arrian*: And when the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians* so greatly multiplied after the condemnation of the Councils: And when the *Novatians* lived so many years in reputation: and when the *Donatists* nor they were not diminished by Prelates or Councils Censures, till the sword dispersed them. And cannot the Sword be drawn without such as have no power of it?

3. And as to the last (and greatest) reason, that the Apostles have successors who must orderly exercise their Government; it is answered 1. The common doctrine of the Church was, that all Bishops are their Successors so far as they have succession; and every Church of one Altar had a Bishop in the daies of *Ignatius*, and long after. 2. The Council of *Carthage* said, None of us calleth himself Bishop of Bishops. 3. But if any be set as the Bishop of many Bishops and Churches, so be it they use no violence, but govern volunteers as all the old Bishops did, and forbid them nothing commanded of God, nor command them any

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thing which God forbiddeth, and deſtroy not the order, doctrine, worſhip or diſcipline of the leſſer particular Churches, we have before ſaid, that we ſhall ſubmit to ſuch.

§ 41. IV. As to the queſtion, whether the Government ſetled by Chriſt in National Churches be (as to the Clergy from all parts, Monarchical) Ariſtocratical or Democratical, and who muſt have the *ſummam poteſtatem*? The diſagreement of the perſons that we have herein to do with, puts us into utter deſpair of any ſolution. And what good will it do us to believe that ſome muſt be obeyed, if we cannot be certain who it is.

§ 42. V. And to the queſtion, *Whether the King be the formal, or only the accidental Church-head?* We find no more agreement. 1. Some think that the King, as *Melchizedek*, is a mixt perſon, ſecular and Clergy, and hath both Offices to uſe and communicate, as they ſay, the Princes before *Aaron* had. 2. Others ſay, that this is not ſo, but that the Clergy-juriſdiction, diſtinct from the Prieſtly common power, is a branch of the Chriſtian Magiſtrates power, and ſo derived from the King. 3. Others ſay that the Church, *formally*, is diſtinct from the Civil State, though not alwaies *materially*: And that the King as King, is but an Accidental Civil Head, as he is over Phyſicians and Schoolmaſters, being neither himſelf; and that the National Church muſt have a *formal Clergy-head*, (*Perſonal* or *Collective*) which ſhall *in ſua genere*, be the higheſt, though under the Magiſttates Civil Government, as Phyſicians are. 4. The Papiſts ſay, that all National Churches are under the Pope as Univerſal Paſtor, who may alter them as he ſeeth cauſe. 5. Some moderate men ſay, that only Dioceſan (and Metropolitical) Churches are *jure Divino*,

vino, and that they are called *National*, only improperly from one King, or *concording* association as *ab accidente*, and not properly from any *formal Clergy-head*.

§ 43. VI. Lastly, which is the formal Head of the Church of *England*, and so what that Church is, we are left as much uncertain. 1. If it be only a Civil Head that denominateth it *One*, then it is but a Christian Kingdom, which we never questioned. And Dr. *Rich. Cosins*, in his Tables of the English Church-Policy, saith [*That the King hath Administrationem supremam magisque absolutam, quæ dicitur Primatus Regius*. And *Tho. Crompton* in his dedication of it to K. *James*, saith [*Ecclesiastica Jurisdictio plane Regia est, Coronæ & dignitatis vestræ Regiæ prima, præcipua, indivisibilis pars: Ecclesiasticæ leges Regiæ sunt, neque alibi oriuntur, aut aliunde sustentantur, aut fulciuntur: penes Ecclesiasticos judices per Archiepiscopos & Episcopos, derivata a Rege potestate, jurisdictio Ecclesiastica consistit*: And yet our Kings and Church explaining the Oath of Allegiance, declare that the King pretendeth not to the Priesthood, or power to administer the Word and Sacraments; but, as *Crompton* adds from *Constantine*, *is extra Ecclesiam constitutus a Deo Episcopus; alii intra Ecclesiam Episcopi*. This is plain: If they hold to this, and claim no power in the English-Policy, but as the Kings Officers, in that part which belongeth to Christian Magistrates, who will oppose them? But this reacheth not to the Keys, Preaching or Sacraments. 2. Some say that the King is partly a Clergy man, as *Melchizedek*, and so that he is the formal Head, and might perform the Priestly Office if he would: But this our Kings have themselves renounced. 3. Some say that

that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is the formal Head; but that cannot be, becauſe he is no Governour over the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, or his Province. 4. Moſt ſay that the *Convocation* is the formal Church-Head, which makes it One Political Church. But 1. If ſo, then why ſaith the Canon that the Convocation [*is the true Church of England by Repreſentation*] and thoſe excommunicate that deny it? We enquire after the Church-Head or Governour: And that which is but the Church it ſelf by repreſentation, is not its *Head*, unleſs the Head and Body be the ſame, and the Church govern it ſelf, and ſo it be Democratical: The governed and Governours, ſure, are not the ſame. 2. And the *Supream Power* is ſuppoſed, by thoſe that take Epiſcopacy for a diſtinct Order, to be in the *Supream Order* only: But the far greater part of the Convocation are not of the *Supream Order*: Nay, thus the Presbyters ſhould be partly the chief Governours of the Biſhops while they make Canons for them. 3. When we did but motion that according to Arch-Biſhop *Uſhers* form of the Primitive Epiſcopacy, Presbyters might joyn with the Biſhops in proper executive Church-government inſtead of Lay-Chancellors, and ſuch like, they decryed it as *Presbytery*, and call us *Presbyterians* ever ſince: And if they ſay that the Presbyters have ſo great a part in the Supream Government it ſelf, which obligeth all the Nation, how much more would they be themſelves *Presbyterians*, which they ſo abhor?

§ 44. Having oft ſaid that we deſire *Chriſtian Kingdoms* as the great bleſſing of the world, we mean not either that 1. All in a Kingdom ſhould be forced to be baptized, or profeſs themſelves Chri-

Christians, whether they are so or not: For lying will not save men, nor please God; and even the Papists are against this: 2. Nor that all should be supposed to be Christians that are in the Kingdom. But that the Kings be Christians, and the Laws countenance Christianity, and the most or ruling part of the Kingdom be Christians, and all just endeavours used to make all the rest so: The Ancient Churches continued them Catechumens till they were fit for Baptism; and though they were for Infant-Baptism, they *compelled* none to be baptized in Infancy, or at Age, but left it to free choice. They baptized but twice a year ordinarily. They kept many offenders many years from communion. And if *Crabs Roman Council sub silvest.* be true, they at *Rome admitted not penitents till fourty years* (understand it as you see cause:) The true Elibertine Canons kept many out so many years, and many till death, and many absolutely, as shewed that they were far from taking all the Nation into the Church. And the Christian Emperours compelled none. It was long before the greatest part of the Empire were Christians. In the daies of *Valens*, the Bishops were some of them banished into places that had few Christians, if any. In *France* it self, even in St. *Martin's* daies, the Christians of his flock were not the most, but he wrought miracles to convince the Heathens that raged against Christianity, where he dwelt, &c.

§ 1. There are two appendent Controversies handled by some that write for National Churches; which need but a brief solution: The first is, whether it be not an Independent Errour to expect *real holiness in Church-members, as necessary in the judg-*

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ment of charity? The ſecond, *Whether it be not ſuch an Errour to require the bond of a Covenant beſide the Baptiſmal Covenant?*

§ 2. To the firſt we ſay, that ſo much is written on this point by one of us in a Treatiſe called *Diſputations of Right to Sacraments*, &c. that we think meet to ſay no more: The Opponents now confeſs that it muſt be *ſaving Faith and Conſent to the Baptiſmal Covenant* that muſt be profeſſed: And Papiſts and Proteſtants agree with all the Ancient Church, that Baptiſm putteth the true Conſenter into a ſtate of certain pardon and title to life: And God maketh not known lying, a condition of Church-communion: *He that believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved.* It is true, that God hath not made Miniſters Arbitrary Judges of mens ſecret thoughts, but hath limited them in judging to take *their tongues* that *profeſs Faith and Conſent* to be the *Indices* of their minds: But ſure the power of the Keys containeth a power of judging according to Chriſt's Law, who is to be taken into the Church by Baptiſm, and who not: If only the ſeeker be made Judge, it will be a new way of Church-Government, and a bad. And then the queſtion is, 1. Whether he that accepts ones profeſſion ſeemingly ſerious, of *Faith* and *Conſent*, and that *de præſente*, is not bound to hope in charity that ſuch a one doth not lie or diſſemble? 2. Whether a baptized perſon, as ſuch, have no right to our ſpecial love which we owe to thoſe that we hope are true Believers, and ſanctified; but only to our common love and kindneſs, which belongeth to thoſe alſo that are the heirs of Hell? Some friends that are gone from extream to extream, and in remembrance of their ancient Schiſms, can look

look but one way with impartial ſenſe, and that have made their repentance the paſſage to a greater errour and ſin, ſhould better bethink them them what they do. They did well to ſtand ſtill in the way of Schiſm, when they ſaw here a leg, and there a hand, and there an arm in their way; and who but a mad-man indeed would not: But if they have impartially read Church-hiſtory, and the works of ſuch Fathers as give us hiſtorical notices, and ever ſince *Conſtantine* made a Biſhoprick a bait to a proud and worldly mind; even ſuch as *Nazianzen*, *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Iſidore Peluſiota*, *Hilary Pictav.* and the over-orthodox diſputations of *Cyril*, and the Epiſtles of *Theodoret* rejoycing at his death, and abundance of ſuch like; had they ſeen in the way of Church-pride and tyranny, not here a leg, and there an arm, but here a hundred carkaſſes, and there a thouſand; here two thouſand godly faithful Preachers ſilenced, and many thouſand dry Vines planted in their rooms, and there whole Kingdoms interdicted, and their Churches ſhut up; here Churches and Kingdoms turned into confuſions about a *word*, or about the *intereſt of Prelates*, ſtriving which ſhould be the *Chief*, and have their will and rule the reſt; and there hundred thouſands murdered in the name of Chriſt, for obeying him, and bloody wars managed by the Clergy againſt Chriſtian Emperours, and Kings ſtabbed one after another; and moſt of the Chriſtian world, *Roman*, *Greek*, *Moſcovites*, *Armenians*, *Abaſſines*, degenerated into doleful ignorance and dead formality under the Government of great High-Prieſts, and millions of the vulgar bred up in ignorance and ſenſleſneſs of ſpiritual and eternal things; this ſhould ſtop them, (at leaſt from ſerving

ving the maſter of ſuch deſigns) as much as a leg, or an arm in the way.

3. At leaſt we would intreat them to hate that miſtake, which will pretend to do all this for charity, unity and the Churches good; and to believe that it is no ſign of charity, 1. To believe that charity ſhould not be exerciſed in judging that men profeſſing ſaving faith do ſpeak the truth, and have the faith that they profeſs: 2. Nor to teach all Chriſts Church, that a baptized Church member *as ſuch* is to be lookt on but as a man in a ſtate of damnation; and no man is bound to love him as a true Chriſtian with a ſpecial love: 3. And that to prove that a man is not to be taken for a true Chriſtian, but to be admitted into Church Communion as one that ſhall have a greater damnation than heathens, without a further renovation, is a great act of Charity, Contrary to the uncharitable narrowneſs of others. Theſe are too great receſſes from Anabaptiſtry, but not from real Schiſm.

§ 3. As for thoſe that will not take the *intelligent ſerious profeſſion of true Faith, and Covenant-Conſent* for a credible ſign of the ſincerity of the Profeſſor, till they can ſufficiently diſprove it, but will be the arbitrary Judges of mens hearts, either as pretended heart-ſearchers, or by ſelf-deviſed, or uncertain ſigns, not taking up with this Profeſſion, we are no Patrons of ſuch mens preſumption and uncharitableneſs.

§ 4. There are various degrees of Credibility in mens profeſſions; ſome give us ſo much as is next to certainty; ſome but ſmall hopes: But yet till we can diſprove them, we are to take their profeſſions as credible in ſome degree. And if they prove falſe, it is they that will have the loſs.

§ 5.

§ 5. II. The ſecond caſe about Church Covenants deſerveth no longer a diſcuſſion. He that will put any article unneceſſary into any ſuch Covenant, ſinfully corrupteth the order of the Church: As if he would bind the people to be Church Governours, or never to depart from that particular Church but by the conſent of the Paſtor, or the flock, or any ſuch like: And he miſtaketh that will make a more *explicite* contract to be more neceſſary than it is. But it ſeemeth ſtrange to us that any underſtanding Chriſtian ſhould deny, that *conſent* is abſolutely neceſſary to the being of an adult member both of the univerſal, and each particular Church reſpectively. What *bindeth* a man to conſent is another queſtion, but if he be any member of the Church till he *profeſs conſent*, we know not what a Chriſtian or Church member is. An *explicite covenant* is neceſſary to our relation to the *Univerſal Church* for it muſt be *ſolemnized ſacramentally*: That we expreſs it by *writings or words* is not of neceſſity to our membership of a particular Church: But *conſent* is neceſſary; And *mutual conſent expreſſed* ſatisfactorily, is a contract or Covenant; If the Paſtor ſay all th at conſent, hold up your hand, or ſtand up, or ſtay here while the reſt depart, &c. theſe are ſignifications of conſent: And if it be notified that all that appear at the ſolemn Aſſemblies, and attend the Paſtors Miniſtry, ſhall be taken for Conſenters, their preſence and attendance is a profeſſion of Conſent indeed, and ſo a covenanting. But though the moſt explicit be not neceſſary *ad eſſe*, no man can give a reaſon why it ſhould not be beſt *ad bene eſſe*, ſeeing the moſt intelligent and plain dealing in the great things of God, are moſt ſuitable to the work, and fitteſt

fitteſt to attain the end: why ſhould we not deal openly and above board?

§ 6. It is certain that to be a Chriſtian maketh no man a member of any mans particular flock or charge. And it is certain that none can be ſuch without conſent. And it is certain that the Paſtor is not to take every Atheiſt, Jew, Infidel, Papiſt, Heretick, &c. in his Pariſh for a member of the Univerſal, or of that particular Church. Therefore he muſt know whom to take for ſuch. And it is certain that the conſent muſt be mutual, ſo far is the Paſtor from being a ſlave, and bound to every mans deſires, that he is entruſted with the Church Keys himſelf.

§ 7. A worthy perſon on this ſubject maketh theſe ſix things ſufficient to ſuch Church relation: 1. That they be baptized Chriſtians; 2. Neighbours bound to mutual love; 3. And apt to Neighbourly duty; 4. That providence make us ſuch Neighbours; 5. Scripture Churches took their name from cohabitation: 6. The command of authority, that ſo it ſhall be. *Freſh ſuit. pag.* 260.

Anſ. By making theſe ſix the ſufficient proof of Pariſh Churches, our friend unhappily would conſequently unchurch them all: For if this were all, certainly they were none at all. For all theſe (which he maketh more than they are) are but the *diſpoſitio materiæ*, antecedent to any reception of the form, 1. For all that he inferreth or can infer from them all is *obligation to conſent* and to *other duties after conſent*. But *obligation* maketh not the relation of a member: All that are *obliged* to be Chriſtians are not Chriſtians: All that are obliged to be Paſtors are not Paſtors: Nor all that are obliged to conſent firſt and to do the duty of Paſtors

after: Even as all that are obliged to consent to be subjects, Husbands, Wives, Masters, Servants, Tutors, Scholars, &c. are not such: If meer *obligation* serve to one relation, why not to others? 2. Else a man might be a true Pastor unchosen, unordained and against his will. For he may by his qualifications be obliged to be ordained and to become a Pastor. 3. And so the people may be the flock of one that was obliged to be their Pastor, when another is set over them and in possession, because it was the first that was obliged, and they to choose him: And so utter Confusion will come in: And if a man can prove that another mans wife and servant was obliged to be his, he may take them as his indeed. 3. By this rule all the Papists, Seekers, Quakers, &c. that renounce our Churches, should yet be members of them, because they live in the Parish, and are commanded to be members: Which *who* believeth? 4. A member of a Church hath right to Communion and Ministerial vigilancie and help: But so hath not every baptized person that is commanded to be a member, and obeyeth not that command. If a man say to a Pastor, I will be none of your flock, or Church, but yet I require you to do the office of a Pastor to me, though I renounce your relation to me, and the people to use me as a member of the flock, because I am commanded to be a member, this were a strange claim. 5. If this did hold, then no man that liveth in the Parish could be a proper separatist, so as to break off himself from that Church, nor become a member of another, unless he apostatized from Christ: For he would be still under the Magistrates Command and obligation: But the consequent is absud: Why do

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the ſame men ſpeak ſo much againſt ſchiſmatical rending mens ſelves from the true Churches, and gathering other Churches, if there be no ſuch thing? The Laws change not, which oblige them. 6. They that are againſt ſchiſm and ſingularity, ſhould be againſt this opinion, becauſe (as it is utterly abſurd, ſo) it is notoriouſly contrary to the Judgment of all the Chriſtian world in all ages to this day, as acquaintance with Church hiſtory may fully inform them. They have ever taken mutual conſent between the Paſtors and the flock to be neceſſary to the being of a particular Church; and that whatever they were obliged to, they were not actually related to each other as Paſtor and flock till they conſented: And therefore have noted ſchiſmatical Churches in the ſame Cities that have been no parts of the Church which they diſowned.

§ 8. But it is objected, that this unchurcheth our Pariſh-Churches, and all the Churches in the world.

Anſ. Not one: But the contrary would. Our Pariſh Churches are aſſociated by mutual conſent: The Paſtor expreſſeth his conſent openly at his inſtitution, induction and officiating: The Flocks ſhew their conſent by actual ſubmitting to his Miniſterial Office: They hear him, and communicate ordinarily with him, and ſeek Miniſterial help from him; thongh all that are in the Pariſh do not ſo, thoſe do it that are indeed his flock, or Church. They do not perhaps by *word* or *writing* covenant to ſubmit to him as their Paſtor, but they do it by actual ſignification of conſent to the relation. And the Biſhops in Conſecration enter into a Covenant to watch over the flock (as do the Prieſts) and the Prieſts promiſe (if not ſwear, in

England) to obey them: This is a Covenant.

§ 9. It is objected, that this is a diſparagement to Baptiſm, which is the only Church-making Covenant.

Anſ. Baptiſm only, as ſuch, maketh us members of the univerſal Church; but is not enough to make us of any Miniſters ſpecial flock: I am not a member of the Church of *York*, *Norwich*, *Briſtol*, &c. becauſe I am baptized: Nor am I a member of the Pariſh Church now where I was baptized. Content to be a Chriſtian is one thing, and conſent to be a member of this particular Church, and to take this man more than all the reſt about us, for the Guide of my ſoul, is another.

§ 10. And if a man would ſay, I will be a member of this Pariſh Church, and you ſhall perform ſo much of your Office as I deſire, and no more; I will hear and receive the Sacrament but when I pleaſe, and I will not admit you to catechize or inſtruct any of my family, nor viſit the ſick, nor will I be reſponſible to you for any thing that I hold, or ſay, or do; nor have any thing to do with you, but in the Church; is a Miniſter bound to do his office to men, or take them for his ſpecial flock on theſe terms? The ancient Churches had abundance of ſtrict Canons; if the people ſhould have choſen a Biſhop, and ſaid, We will obey none of theſe Canons, nor you, but you ſhall be our Biſhop on our terms, was he bound to have conſented, and to have been ſuch a Biſhop? This is really the caſe of no ſmall part of *England*, though they ſay it not openly by words.

§ 11. It is objected, *that as Apoſtles, ſo ordained Miniſters have their authority before the conſent of the people and receive it not from them.*

Anſ.

Anſ. 1. Who ever queſtioneth it, that is conſiderate, as to an indefinite charge in the Church univerſal? But what's that to the queſtion? Are all the Miniſters in the world bound to be the Paſtors of this Pariſh or Dioceſs? Our queſtion is what conſtituteth the relations between a Paſtor and his Particular flock? Doth not the ordainer here ſay, *Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of God, &c. when thou art thereto lawfully called*? Becauſe a man is a Licenſed Phyſician without me, doth it follow that he is my Phyſician without my conſent? 2. Are all thoſe Church-members that Miniſters are authorized to preach to? Then all the Heathen-world are Church-members. 3. They receive not authority from the people; but their conſent is neceſſary to make themſelves capable receivers of the relation and right of Church-members. God, and not the Wife, giveth the Husband the ſuperiority; but he is no ſuch Husband to any that conſenteth not.

§ 12. God hath laid mens rights and benefits on their wills, ſo that no man can have them againſt his will. It is a great priviledge to have right to communion with a particular Church, and to this or that faithful Paſtors overſight: And its new Doctrine to ſay, that unwilling perſons have this right, becauſe they are willing of ſomething elſe, *viz.* to be members of the Church univerſal.

§ 13. We conclude therefore that both extreams here are falſe; 1. That men can be adult members of a particular Church that conſent not, or taken for ſuch that no way ſignifie their conſent, and that it is not uſeful *ad bene eſſe*, that this

conſent be intelligent and expreſs, and that the Offices conſented to be truly underſtood. 2. That a written, or verbal covenant is of abſolute neceſſity; or that men ſhould tie themſelves to any thing doubtful, or unneceſſary, but only to the *relation* and *duties* of members (as of the univerſal ſo) of that particular Church. Both theſe extreams we do renounce. Mr. *Zachary Cawdry*, a Conformiſt, hath ſhewed in a particular Treatiſe for Church covenanting, how far he is from the mind of thoſe Objectors; for he would have the people engaged by covenant to their Biſhops and Prieſts.

§ 14. To conclude, though we renounce fanatick Enthuſiaſts, yet ſerious conſideration maketh ſome of us think, that too little notice is taken of the HOLY GHOST ſetting Paſtors over the flocks, which the Scripture mentioneth: And though none on pretence of the Spirit muſt reject order or ordination, nor make themſelves the ſole Judges of their own ſufficiency; yet 1. The due qualification of men with wiſdom, faith, love, and heavenly zeal, and ability, is the moſt excellent part of our Calling to the Miniſtry. 2. *Ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*; without neceſſary fitneſs no man is a true Paſtor having not *diſpoſitionem receptivam*: And without eminent fitneſs, few are eminently ſerviceable. 3. Experience aſſureth us, that though the Office hath ſupernumeraries, yet of worthy men God never yet raiſed up ſupernumeraries, but the ſcarcity is lamentably great. 4. All therefore that are duly qualified, and have opportunity, ſhould be choſen, ordained, accepted, and accept the Call, if not offer themſelves, in caſe

caſe they cannot otherwiſe enter. 5. The Ordainer doth but miniſterially inveſt him with the power, whom the Spirit of God hath qualified for it, by the inward Call. 6. In caſe the Ordainers by envy, or malignity, or faction, refuſe ſuch, where there is true *Neceſſity*, and *Opportunity*, we conceive that mutual conſent of the people and themſelves, may ſuffice to the orderly admittance into the Office, much more if the Magiſtrate alſo conſent: Of which ſee *Voetius de deſperata Cauſa Papatus, and a Diſpute of Ordination*, by *R. B.*

Three Venerable Monitors TO NONCONFORMISTS.

I. *An Epiſtle of an African Council,* (*in* Cyprian 68. p. 200.) *to* Fælix *a Presbyter, and the Laity at* Legio *and* Aſturica: *And to* Lælius *the Deacon, and the Laity at* Emerita, *concerning their Biſhops* Baſilides *and* Martial *who were Libellaticks* *.

* When perſecution was hot, ſome that would not offer Incenſe at Idols Altars, nor renounce Chriſt, yet to ſave their lives did, through fear, in ſecret, hire another to ſubſcribe their names to a ſinful profeſſion; and theſe were called *Libellatici*; and it troubled the Churches whether, and when they ſhould be received to communion upon their repentance.

WHen we were met together, moſt beloved Brethren, we read your Letters, which for (or *in*) the integrity of your faith, and the fear of God you wrote to us by our Biſhops, *Falix* and *Sabinus*, ſignifying that *Baſilides* and *Martial* being blotted (or *defiled*) with *Libels* of Idolatry, and guilty of heinous crimes, ought not to exerciſe the Office of Biſhops, and adminiſter the Prieſthood of God: And you deſired us to write back to you hereof, and that your neceſſary ſollicitude might be

be eaſed either by the comfort, or the help of our judgment or ſentence. But to this your deſire, not ſo much *our Counſels* as *Gods Precepts* give an anſwer, in (or *by*) which it is long ago (or already) by the heavenly voice commanded, and By the Law of God preſcribed, *who*, and *what* ſort of men muſt ſerve at the Altar, and celebrate the Divine Sacrifices. For in *Exodus* God ſpeaketh to *Moſes*, and warneth him, ſaying, Let the Prieſts who draw neer to the Lord God be ſanctified, leſt God forſake them; and when they come neer to miniſter at the Altar of the Holy, let them not bring themſelves into ſin, leſt they die. And in *Leviticus* God commandeth and ſaith, Let not the man that hath a blemiſh or vice *draw* neer to offer gifts to God. 2. Which things being already ſpoken and manifeſt to us, it is neceſſary that our obedience attend to God's commands: Neither may mans indulgence accept the perſon, or grant any thing to any one in ſuch things where God's preſcription, intercedeth and giveth a Law. For we muſt not forget what God by the Propet *Eſaias* ſaith to the Jews, reproving them, and angry with them, that contemning the commands of God, they followed the doctrines of men. *This people*, ſaith he, *honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far ſeparated from me; and in vain do they worſhip me, teaching the commands and doctrines of men:* which the Lord alſo in the Goſpel repeateth and ſaith, *Ye reject the command of God, that you may eſtabliſh your own tradition.* Having theſe things before our eyes, and carefully and religiouſly conſidering them, in the Ordinations of Prieſts, we ought to chuſe no Biſhops but men unſpotted and entire, who holily and worthily offering the Sacri-

fices

fices to God, may be heard in the prayers which they make for the safety of the people of God; seeing it is written, that *God* heareth not a sinner, but if any man worship God, and do his will, him he heareth. 3. For which reason with full diligence, and sincere tryal, those men must be chosen to the Priesthood, whom it is manifest God doth hear. And let not the Lay people flatter themselves, as if they could be free from the Contagion of the crime, when they communicate with a sinful Priest, and give their consent to the unjust and unlawful Episcopacy of their Governour, seeing by the Prophet *Hos.* God's censure threatneth, and saith, *Their Sacrifices are as the bread of sorrow; all that eat of it shall be defiled:* Teaching and shewing that all they do sin who are defiled by the sacrifice of a prophane and unjust Priest; which we find also manifested in *Numbers*, where *Corah, Dathan* and *Abiram* challenged to themselves against *Aaron* the license of sacrificing. The Lord there by *Moses* commandeth that the people be separated from them, lest being joyning to the offenders, they be guilty of their crimes. Be separated, saith he, from the Tents of those obdurate men, and touch nothing which is theirs, lest ye perish with them in their sins. 4. Wherefore the Lay-people, obeying the Lords commands, and fearing God, must separate themselves (*a peccatore præposito*) from a sinful Prelate (or Pastor) and must not mix themselves at the sacrifices of a sacrilegious Priest; because *they chiefly have the power* either *to chuse Priests that are worthy, or to refuse those that are unworthy* : Which very thing, we see, descendeth from Divine Authority, that the Priest, the Lay-people being present, be chosen under the Eyes of

All,

All, and by the publick judgment and teſtimony be approved worthy and meet: As in *Numbers* the Lord commanded *Moſes* ſaying, *Take Aaron thy Brother, and Eleazer his Son, and ſet them before all the Congregation on the Mount, and take off Aarons ſtole, and put it on Eleazer his Son, and let Aaron die there.* God commandeth that the Prieſt be made before all the Congregation; that is, he inſtructeth us, and ſheweth that the Prieſtly Ordinations ſhould not be done, but under the conſcience of the aſſiſting people, that the Lay-people being preſent, either the crimes of bad men may be detected, or the deſerts of good men predicated; that ſo that Ordination may be juſt and legitimate, which hath been examined by the judgment and ſuffrage of *All.* 5. Which thing is after obſerved according to the Divine Magiſteries in the Acts of the Apoſtles, when *Peter* ſpake to the Lay-people about Ordaining a Biſhop in the place of *Judas*, *Peter*, ſaith the Text, ſtood up in the midſt of the Diſciples, for the multitude was together in one. And it was not only in the Ordinations of Biſhops and Prieſts, but of Deacons alſo, that we note the Apoſtles to have obſerved this. Of which alſo in their Acts it is written, and the twelve, ſaith the Text, called together the whole Laity of the Diſciples, and ſaid to them. And the whole buſineſs is managed thus diligently and cautelouſly, the whole Laity being convocate, leſt any unworthy perſon ſhould creep into the Miniſtry of the Altar, or the place of Prieſthood. For God himſelf manifeſteth by the Prophet *Oſee*, ſaying, *They have made themſelves a King, but not by me*; that unworthy men are ſometimes ordained by mans preſumption, and that theſe things are diſpleaſing

pleaſing to God, which come not of a legitimate and juſt Ordination. 6. For which cauſe it is diligently to be obſerved and held as of Divine Tradition, and Apoſtolical Obſervation, which is held alſo with us, and in a manner (or almoſt) through all the Provinces, that to the right celebrating of Ordinations, all the next Biſhops of the Province *come together to the Lay-people to whom the Biſhop (præpoſitus)* is *ordained*, and that a Biſhop be made, the Lay-people being preſent, who moſt fully know every mans life, and diſcern every mans acting by his converſation; which we ſee done alſo with your ſelves in the Ordination of our Colleague *Sabinus*, that by the *ſuffrage* of the whole fraternity, and by the judgment of the Biſhops, who at the preſent met, and who wrote Letters of it to you, the Epiſcopacy ſhould be delivered to him, and hands ſhould be laid on him inſtead of *Baſilides*. Nor can it reſcind the Ordination which was rightly perfected, that *Baſilides*, after his crimes detected, and his conſcience laid bare by his own confeſſion, going to *Rome*, deceived our Colleague *Stephen*, who lived far off, and was ignorant of the matter of fact, and of the ſilenced truth, that he might compaſs to be unjuſtly replaced in his Biſhoprick, from which he had been juſtly depoſed. 7. The effect of this is, that the offences of *Baſilides* are not ſo much aboliſhed, as cumulate, that to his former ſins, the crime of deceit and circumvention is added. For he is not ſo much to be blamed, that was negligently deceived, as he to be execrated that fraudulently deceived him. But if *Baſilides* can deceive men, he cannot deceive God. For it is written, *God is not mocked*. Nor will fallacy profit *Martial* to keep

him

him who is involved in great offences, from a rightful losing of his Bishoprick. Seeing the Apostle warneth us, and saith, A Bishop must be without crime as the Steward of God: Wherefore, seeing (as you wrote, beloved brethren, and as *Felix* and *Sabinus* our Colleagues affevere, and as another *Felix* of *Cæsar Augusta*, an honourer of the Faith, and a defender of the Truth, signifieth by his Letters) *Basilides* and *Martial* are contaminated by a wicked Libel of Idolatry. And *Basilides*, besides the blot of this Libel, when he lay sick blasphemed God, and confessed that he blasphemed, and because of the wound of his conscience voluntarily deposing his Episcopacy, turned himself to a repentence, begging pardon of God, and being satisfied, if he might but communicate as a Lay-man. And *Martial*, besides the filthy and dirty feasts of the Gentiles, and the oft frequenting of their Colledges, and the deposing his Sons in the same Colledge after the manner of the exterior Nations, in prophane Sepulchres, and burying them with aliens, did also by publick acts with the Ducenary Procurator, testifie that he obeyed Idolatry: And seeing there are many other and great offences in which *Basilides* and *Martial* are held guilty; in vain do such men endeavour to usurp to themselves the Office of Bishops, when it is manifest that such kind of men may neither be Guides of the Church of Christ, nor ought to offer Sacrifices to God: Especially when *Cornelius* also our Colleague, a pacifick and just Priest, and honoured by God's vouchsafement with Martyrdom, did with us, and all the Bishops settled in the whole world, decree, that such men be not admitted to Repentance, but that they be prohibited

hibited from Clergy Ordination, and Prieſtly honour. 8. And let not this move you, moſt beloved Brethren, if with ſome in the laſt times, their ſlippery Faith do nod, and their irreligious fear of God do ſhake, or paciſick Concord perſevere not: It was foretold that theſe things would be towards the end of the world; and by the joynt-witneſs of the Apoſtles it was foretold, that the world declining, and Antichriſt drawing near, all good things would fail (or decay) and evil and adverſe things increaſe (or proſper.) And yet, though it be in the laſt times, neither is Evangelical vigor ſo fallen in the Church of God, or doth the ſtrength of Chriſtian Virtue or Faith ſo languiſh, but that there remaineth a *portion* of *Prieſts*, which yields not to theſe ruines of things, and ſhipwrack of Faith, but as ſtrong and ſtable do with obſervation of fear maintain the honour of the Divine Majeſty, and the Prieſtly dignity. We remember and hold, that when the reſt did yield and fall, *Mathatias* did valiantly defend the Law of God: And that when the Jews failed and departed from Divine Religion, *Elias* ſtood and ſtrove ſublimely: That *Daniel*, neither deterred by the ſolitude of a ſtrange Country, nor by the infeſtation of daily perſecution, did frequently and valiantly give glorious teſtimonies (or Martyrdoms) and that the three young men, neither broken with years, nor threats, did faithfully ſtand out againſt the *Babylonian* fires, and even in their captivity conquered the conquering King. 9. The number (or party) of prevaricators or trayors that now *riſe up in the Church againſt the Church*, and have begun to ſpoil both Faith and Verity, ſhall ſee it; that yet with the moſt there remain-

eth

eth a ſincere mind, and entire Religion, a ſoul devoted to none but their Lord and God; and that other mens perfidiouſneſs doth not depreſs the Chriſtian Faith to ruine, but doth more excite it, and exalt it unto glory. Even as the bleſſed Apoſtle *Paul* exhorteth and ſaith, *What if ſome of them have fallen from Faith? ſhall their unbelief make void the faith of God? God is true, and every man a lyar:* And if *every man be a lyar, and God only be true,* what elſe ſhould we, Gods ſervants, do, and ſpecially his Prieſts, but relinquiſh the errours and lies of men, and keeping the Lords commands, remain in the truth of God? 10. Therefore, moſt beloved brethren, though there have been ſome of our Colleagues, who think that the Divine Diſcipline ſhould be neglected, and do raſhly communicate with *Baſilides* and *Martial*, that ought not to trouble our Faith, ſeeing the Holy Ghoſt in the *Pſalms* doth threaten ſuch, ſaying, *Thou hatedſt Diſcipline, and haſt caſt my words behind thee:* If thou ſaweſt a Thief, thou concurredſt with him, and didſt place thy portion with Adulterers. It ſheweth that they are made Conſorts and partakers of other mens ſins, who have been coupled with the ſinners. And *Paul* the Apoſtle writeth the ſame thing, and ſaith [*Whiſperers, detractors, haters of God, injurious, proud, boaſters of themſelves, inventers of evil things; who when they knew the judgment of God, they underſtood not that they that do ſuch things are worthy of death*; not only they that do them, but they that conſent to them that do them. He ſaith, that *They that do ſuch things are worthy of death.* He manifeſteth and averreth that not only they are worthy of death, and come to puniſhment who do the evils, but they

they also who consent to them that do such things; who while by unlawful communication they are mingled with bad men, and sinners, and impenitent persons, they are polluted by the contact of the guilty; and while they are joyned in the fault, they are not separated in the punishment. Wherefore, most beloved brethren, we both praise and approve the religious care of our integrity and faith; and as far as we are able by our Letters, exhort you, that you do not by sacrilegious communion mingle your selves with prophane and blotted Priests (or Bishops;) but in religious fear do keep entire and sincere the firmness of your Faith. I wish, most dear Brethren, your continual welfare.

II. *A Letter of the famously Learned and Holy* Robert Grosthead, *Bishop of* Lincoln, *to Pope* Innocent *the fourth, and his Cardinals, containing the reasons of his Nonconformity to their Commands; Translated out of* Matth. Paris, *An.* 1253. *pag.* 871, 872.

SAith *M. Paris, In these daies when the Lord Pope* Innocent *the 4th.* had signified by his Apostolick Writings, commanding the Bishop of *Lincoln* that he should do somewhat which he took to be unjust, and dissonant to reason, as he frequently did to him and other English *Prelates*; he wrote back to him in these words [*Be it known to your discretion, that I devoutly and reverently, with filial affection, obey the Apostolical Precepts: And being zealous of the paternal honour, I am against and resist the things which are against the Apostolical mandates.*

For-

For I am bound to both by Gods Commands: For the Apostolick mandates, neither are, nor can be any other, than consonant and conform to the Apostles Doctrine, and to the Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, the Master and Lord of the Apostles, whose type and person the Lord Pope chiefly beareth in the Hierarchy of the Church. For our Lord Jesus Christ himself saith,* He that is not with me, is against me. *But the most Divine Sanctity of the Apostolical Seat, is not, nor cannot possibly be against him* (Jesus Christ) *Therefore the tenor of the foresaid Letter is not consonant to the Apostolick Sanctity; but very much absonant and discordant: First, because of the superaccumulated* Non obstante of that Letter, and such like, *that are dispersed far and wide, not brought in by any necessity of observing the Law of Nature, whence a deluge of inconstancy, audaciousness, and procacity, immodesty, lying, deceiving, hardly believing or trusting any doth arise: And from these a deluge of innumerable vices, moving and troubling the purity of the Christian Religion, and the tranquility of social humane conversation.*

*It must be known that this Bishop lived in the depth of Popery, and acknowledgeth the Popes Power, as men do now the Bishops.

Moreover, next after the sin of Lucifer, which in the later times will be also the sin of Antichrist the Son of perdition, *which the Lord will destroy with the spirit of his mouth, there neither is, nor can be any other kind of sin so adverse and contrary to the Apostles and the Evangelical Doctrine, and so hateful, detestable and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ himself, as to kill and destroy souls by defrauding them of the care of the Pastoral Office and Ministry: Which sin they are by most evident testi-*

testimonies of Sacred Scripture knows to commit, who being placed in the power of Pastoral Care, do get the salary of the Pastoral Office and Ministry, from the milk and fleece of the sheep of Christ, who are to be made alive and saved, but administer not their dues. For the very not administring of the Pastoral Ministries, is, by the Scripture testimony, the killing and destroying of the Sheep. And that these two sorts of sins (though with disparity) are the worst, and inestimably superexcreeding every other sort of sin, is manifest by this, in that they are (though with disparity and dissimilitude) directly contrary to the two said existent things that are best: For that is the worst thing that is contrary to the best: And as much as lieth in the said sinners, One of these sins is the destruction of the very Deity, which is superessentially, and supernaturally Best; the other is the destroying of the Deiformity and Deification, which is Best Essentially and Naturally by the gracious participations of the beams of the Deity. And because, as in good things, the Cause of good is better than its Effect; so also in evils, the Cause of evil is worse than its Effect. And it is manifest that the Introducers of such most evil Murderers of this Deiformity and Deification in the Sheep of Christ, in the Church of God, are worse than these most evil Murderers themselves, and nearest to Lucifer and Antichrist; and in this priority they are gradually the worst, by how much they superexcel, who were more obliged to exclude and extirpate such destroyers from the Church of God, by the greater and divinier power, given them by God for Edification, and not for Destruction. It cannot be therefore that a most holy Apostolick Seat (to which by

by our most holy Lord Jesus Christ, all power is given, as the Apostle witnesseth, for Edification, and not for Destruction) should ever command, bid, or any way endeavour any such thing, or any thing verging towards such a sin, so odious, detestable and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ, and so utterly pernicious to mankind. For this were either a defection, or a corruption, or an abuse of his eminently most holy and full power, or an utter elongation from the Throne of the Glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the nearest confession in the Chair of Pestilence, to the two foresaid Princes of darkness, and of the pains of Hell. No one that in immaculate and sincere obedience is subject and faithful to the same Seat, and not by Schism cut off from the Body of Christ, and the same holy Seat, can obey (such) Mandates or Precepts, or any endeavours whatever, whencesoever they flow, though it were from the Supream Order of Angels *, but must necessarily with his whole power contradict them and rebel: Wherefore, Reverend Lords, from the duty of obedience and fidelity, which I owe to the Parent of the holy Apostolical Seat, and out of the Love of Union in the Body of Christ with it, I do alone (unice) filially and obediently disobey, contradict and rebel against the things contained in the foresaid Letter, and especially as is before touched, they most evidently verge towards the sin which is most abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ, and most pernicious to mankind, and are altogether adverse to the sanctity of the Apostolical Seat, and are contrary to the Catholick Faith. Nor may your discretion therefore determine any thing hard against me, because all my contradiction and action in this Cause is not indeed

* Or Anglorum, for its a various Lection.

deed contradiction or rebellion, but a filial honouring of Gods command due to a Father, and of you Brethren all, I say, that the holiness of the Apostolick Seat can do (or hath power to do) nothing but that which tendeth to edification, and not to destruction *. For this is the plenitude of power, to have power to do all to Edification. But these things they call [Provisions] are not for Edification, but for most manifest Destruction. Therefore the Apostolick Seat cannot accept them, because flesh and blood, which shall not possess the Kingdom of God, hath revealed them, to us but the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is in Heaven.

* But a Papist will say, who shall be Judge? As if all men were not to be discerning Judges of truth & duty.

III. *Bishop* Sanderson *in his* Oxford *Prelections de* Juramento, *saith, as followeth.* (*The Reader is desired to see his whole words, that he say not they are mangled, or any thing omitted which he would have had put in; and to consider how far the case of Oaths, and Covenants, Promises or Professions is the same.*)

PAge 30, 31. 1. Simplicity above all things beseemeth an Oath: That is, The nature and obligation of an Oath is such, that whoever shall bind himself by so sacred a bond to do any thing, he may be altogether held by the Religion of an Oath, and seriously from his heart intend, and as much as in him lyeth, diligently endeavour faithfully to do all that which he hath promised to

to do, without all craft, fraud, or ill deceit or dissimulation. (See the rest there.)

Page 32, 33, 34. Contrary to this simplicity of an Oath, are two sorts of simulation; one as to the foregoing part, which is either antecedent or concomitant with the act of swearing: of which, though the former be the worser, yet neither of them is free from perjury. *David* seemeth to comprehend both in *Psal.* 15. and 24. [*He that sweareth not deceitfully*, that is, *with a mind to deceive*---And *He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not*] that is, who when he hath bound himself by an Oath, will rather, even to his own great loss, perform that which he incommodiously swore, than for any temporal commodity violate his faith.---These things the greater part of men now in being, seem to me not to think of, or not seriously; who fear not to swear without any ambage prolixly, and in the very words, whatsoever is proposed to them, by such as have power to do them hurt: Yea and think themselves the only wise men, and disdainfully deride their simplicity and vain fear, who, lest they hurt their consciences, forsooth, do seek a knot in a rush, and vex (or sollicit) the *forms prescribed* by such as can proscribe them: And they securely free themselves from all crime and fear of Perjury, and think they have well cared for themselves and their consciences, if when they swear, like the Jesuits, they can but any how defend themselves, by tacite equivocations, or mental reservations, or subtle forced interpretations, and quite alien from the words: Or else after they have sworn, can find out some artificial evasion, as a hole to get out by, as the σοφὸν ῥάμμακον, by which so to defraud the Oath,

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that taking the words, yet the sense may be eluded by some Sophism, and all the force of it wholly be enervated. The old Christians received not this Theology: The founder Heathens received not this Moral Philosophy: Much otherwise out of them, saith *Augustine* [*"They are perjured who "keeping the words, deceive the expectation of them "that they swear to*] And otherwise, saith *Cicero*, "[*That is to be kept which is so sworn as the mind "of the Imposer conceived it should be done.*] Read the proofs, p. 34, &c. 1. From many Texts of Scripture: 2. From God's own example: 3. From the nature of Truth: 4. From the end of an Oath, p. 38. which is the confirmation of a doubtful matter; that is, that of things otherwise uncertain and depending on humane credit, there should be had such certainty as humane affairs require. For an Oath was instituted by God, by force of the Light of Nature, for a remedy of humane defects about Truth; that among mortals it should be Truths last garrison, as oft as all other kinds of proof do fail. But this end would be wholly overthrown, and there could be no certain credit among men, if it were free for the swearer, at his own arbiterment, what he speaketh in words to cause belief, by some tacite ambiguity in swearing; or after he hath sworn, by finding out some new, and as it were, posthumous comment so to disable it, as that it shall lose all its force, and be utterly ineffectual. If either of these were lawful, an Oath should not be the end of strife, but the beginning, and should rather give occasion for new contradictions and strifes, than end the old ones. Open but this window once, and then what can be thought of so false, for the defence

whereof

whereof some effuge or lurking-hole may not be devised, whereby it may be freed from being a lie. In the mean time, what perverseness is it, that That should by dishonest men be turned into an instrument of deceiving, which was instituted by the most wise God to be a help to credit (or mens belief of one another). Verily, unless one will rather use God's sacred institution to another purpose, than that to which it was instituted (which a godly man will not easily do) that which is the end of an Oath, the same ought to be the end of the swearer. And that is, so to make the hearer to believe, that he may become more certain and secure of the Truth of that which before was doubtful. But he that dissembleth, studieth to breed a false belief in the hearers, and so doth not only suffer another to be deceived (which yet is contrary to Charity when he may and ought to hinder it) but also intendeth to deceive; which is not only against all Justice and Honesty, but is also conjoyned with the greatest wrong to God, and contempt of his name. And verily to me scarce any other sort of *Perjury* doth more diametrically seem to be against either the scope of the third Commandment, or the very words (of not taking the name of God in vain) than that which ariseth from this dissimulation. For as the word Vanity doth properly and adequately comprehend all that which is any way false; so in a certain peculiar sort, and most properly, that which is so false as yet to bear a shew of Truth. (See the rest.)

The second which pertaineth to the interpretation of an Oath, is this, *The Obligation of an Oath is strictly taken*. That is of so just an interpreta-

tion of right) that the words of the Law may not be drawn further than is meet for the sake or favour of any party; nor constrained to serve any mans fact or commodity. In a word, *strict Right* is not here taken so as to exclude an interpretation tempered with equity, but to exclude an interpretation of Law (or right) corrupted by favour (or for any ones sake). The extreames are *A Rigid* interpretation, and *A Favourable* or *just* interpretation is the mean between both, which searcheth after the true and genuine sense of the Law, without respect at all to persons, out of natural equity and justice, and from the words themselves, as they agree with equity and justice. And if this may be plainly made out in the words themselves, that it is in every case simply to be retained.—See the rest.

P. 45. When I say that an Oath is of *strict right*, it is so to be understood, that the meaning of the Oath, which is plain enough in the words, is alwaies to be held. But where the sense is doubtful, every one must take great heed, lest we too much indulge our selves, and our own affections; and lest we grant our selves too liberal and lax a license of interpreting, that we may the easilier get our selves out of the bond of the Oath which we are tyed by; and lest we fasten (or feign) any sense on the Oath taken, or on any part of it, for our own commodity or profits sake, which any other pious and prudent man, of a freer judgment as not interessed in the cause, would not easily draw from the very words themselves.

The Reason is twofold; one in respect to others, for feat of scandal, lest any that is weak, drawn by our example, think he may do that which he seeth

us

ne do, though unacquainted with those subtilties, by which only we use to defend our selves from the crime of Perjury. The other in respect of our selves, for fear of perjury, which most grievous crime undoubtedly we commit, if that more benign interpretation chance to deceive us, which made us bold to take the Oath. This reason resteth on that general, and most profitable rule, which bids us [*in doubtful cases take the safer side*.] But it is the safer *not to swear, when the words of the proposed Oath, according to the common and obvious sense of the words, seem to contain somewhat unlawful in them*; rather than by a *Lax Interpretation* so to soften them for our own use, that we may the more securely swear them: Seeing we know that such an Oath may be refused without danger of perjury, but we know not that it can be taken without danger or fear of it.

P. 46, 47, 197. Yet we must take heed that this *strict* interpretation turn not into a Rigid one—of common right these exceptions and conditions (of promissory Oaths) are ever understood: [1. *If God permit*: 2. *Saving the Right of others*. And, *as far as is lawful*; *saving the Right of Superiors*: 3. *Things standing as they do*, or *in the same state*: *As far as I am able*, &c.]

P. 49. But if any admit more dubious exceptions—he boldly and rashly removeth God's boundaries of an Oath, and openeth a wide door to all kind of Perjury.

P. 193. The third Case is, when one imposeth an Oath of an ambiguous sense, only requiring that those words be sworn, permitting the swearer to understand the words in what sense he will: I say, it must deservedly be suspected that an Oath

offered

offered on such a condition hath some latent ill deceit, and therefore is to be refused by a pious and prudent man; & to me seemeth to be disallowed for three causes: 1. In respect to the Oath it self, in which *Truth* is first required: But a speech of indefinite and ambiguous sense before distinction made, is no true proposition; yea, no proposition at all; when a proposition, as Boys know, should signifie truth or falshood without ambiguity. 2. In respect of him to whom we swear: For the proper end of an Oath is, that he to whom it is made have some certainty of a thing before uncertain. 3. In respect to the swearer himself, who if he take an Oath in such condition, prepareth either a scandal for his neighbour, or a snare for himself. For such collusion cannot be imagined to look any other way, than either to draw others by our example to take the same Oath (though with a reluctant conscience) which is to scandalize our neigbour: or that somewhat else be after required of us to be done by virtue of that Oath, which is either unlawful, or incommodious; which is to lay a snare for our selves. Let a wise man therefore take heed that he suffer not himself to be imposed on by these Arts; or lest he so much value the favour or fear of any other man, as to swallow the bait when he knoweth that the hook is under it. Verily, that all may be rightly done when you swear, it is expedient that all parties be clearly agreed of the sense of the words that are interessed in the matter; which by the Antients was called [*Liquido jurare*]

Scis tamen, & liquido juratus dicere posses.

And in the old form, he that imposed the Oath was wont to say to the swearer [*Qui de re pete*

liquido

liquide jures] (that is, [*Of which I require thee to swear plainly.*]

P. 55, 56. The question, *Whether this or that Oath be lawful?* much differeth from this, [*Whether this or that Oath bind?*] For though it be certain that we ought not to take the Oath, which we know that we ought not to keep; yet it may come to pass, and often doth, that we ought to perform that which we ought not to have taken. *Joshuas* Covenant with the *Gibeonites*, is a most clear example of this. — An Oath may be said to be unlawful two waies; either as to the *matter sworn*, or as to the Act of *swearing*. An Oath unlawful as to the matter sworn, bindeth not at all. An Oath unlawful in respect to the Act of *swearing*, bindeth, unless otherwaies hindered.

P. 74, 75. A thing lawful in it self may be unlawful by accident;--as by the errour of the swearer, or the ill effect of the thing sworn. The third Case is, *When one promiseth by an Oath to do somewhat perhaps lawful in it self, which yet he thinketh unlawful, or at least feareth lest it be not lawful*: As if any one before these times, admitted to an Ecclesiastical Benefice, had *promised* to observe in Publick Worship all the Rites commanded by the Ecclesiastical Laws, as the Surplice, the sign of the Cross at the sacred Font, kneeling in receiving the Sacrament, and such like, which yet by some light prejudice he thought were superstitious and Popish. The question is, *What obligation there is in this case?* I say, 1. Such an Oath cannot be taken during such errour, without grievous sin. For he sinneth grievously that sinneth against his conscience, though erroneous. For when the Judgment of the Intellect is every ones nearest

Rule

Rule of action, the will, if it follow not, that judgment failing from its Rule, must needs be carried into sin. It's a common saying, *He that doth against his conscience, buildeth to Hell.* Verily he that sweareth what he thinketh unlawful, would swear if it were indeed unlawful, & that becometh unlawful to him that is lawful to another, as the Apostle judgeth, *Rom.* 14. 14. 2. I say, *such an Oath doth not bind* — Because an Oath cannot take away a former obligation, nor induce another obligation contrary to it. But that Oath which is taken against the dictate of conscience, had a former obligation arising from that dictate. For the dictate of conscience, whether right or erroneous, alwaies obligeth, at least not to act against it. But a following Oath cannot remove that obligation, but is it self invalid, and loseth its obliging force. 3. But if the swearer after better taught, do see and correct his errour, the Oath which bound him not before, beginneth then to bind him.

P. 77. Other Cases there are of things by Accident unlawful, by reason of ill effects of the thing it self; as it may be a hinderer of a greater good, or a cause, at least an occasion of evil. The fourth Case is, when the thing sworn seemeth unlawful, as hindering the effect of some antecedent good, as of a Vow or Promise made before: As if one that had before-hand bound himself to some work of Piety or Charity, after take an Oath that hindereth the fulfilling of the former Vow. As if one that vowed to give half his gain weekly to the poor, shall after swear to give it all to the war: This case hath no difficulty: I plainly answer, such an Oath is neither lawful nor obligatory, because that the former obligation,

whence-

whencesoever contracted, whether by Covenant, or by Vow, or by bare Promise, or by meer Office (or Duty) remaineth valid, and puts a bar to every following contrary act.---

(Read *Prel.* 4. § 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. what he saith for the obligation, 1. Of spontaneous Oaths; 2. Of Oaths caused by fraud; 3. Or by fear extorted; 4. Even of Oaths to Robbers.)

P. 110. 3. He that taketh an Oath imposed by one that had no just authority, but not otherwise vicious, is bound to perform what he swore.

(Read p. 175, &c. what he saith at large against equivocation, stretching reservations, as opening the door to all lying and perjury, and frustrating the end of Oaths.)

P. 195. Of the latitude and extent of an Oath, *How far the sense is to be measured by the scope* *; As when the *Cause* of the Oath was particular, but the words are general, *e. g.* The Popes Usurpation was the Cause of the Oath of the Kings Supremacy; --- But the *words* of the Oath so assert the Kings Supremacy, as exclude all others as well as the Pope, from exercising supreme Power in this Kingdom; *Answ.* Such an Oath obligeth as to the words themselves in their utmost latitude; The Reason is, because the intention of the Law, though made on a particular occasion, is general, to hinder all incommodities of the same kind for the future.---As Lawyers fetch not the sense of Laws from the Proem, but from the body of the Statute, so we must judge of the just interpretation of an Oath, not by the promised recognition, or other preface, but by the body of the Oath it self.

* As of Assent and Consent to the use of the Liturgy, &c.

P. 208.

P. 208. He is alwaies perjured that intendeth not what he promised: but he is not alwaies perjured that performeth not what he promised, (The bond being dissolved.)

P. 227. Vows made to God, as a party, cannot be relaxed by man (though men may give away their own.)

If you swear for the sake of another, as to his honour, obedience, profit, or other good, the Oath bindeth not, unless he for whom you swear, take it as acceptable and firm.

P. 242. Concl. 4. It is a grievous sin to impose an Oath unduly, on another. As 1. An Oath not stablished by Law or Custom, &c. 2. An Oath that is repugnant, or in the sense that the words hold forth in the common use of speaking, *seemeth* repugnant to any Oath by him formerly lawfully taken. 3. They that constrain men to swear to a thing unlawful, as against our duty to God, or our Superiours, or the Laws of the Kingdom, or against good manners, or that which is otherwise dishoneſt, and may not be kept. 4. He who imposeth an Oath of ambiguous sense, or any way captious; to ensnare the conscience, life, liberty or fortune of his neighbour. 5. He that without necessity, by fear compelleth, or by Authority impelleth, or by counsel, example, fraud, or other artifice or reason induceth another to swear, who he knoweth will swear against the judgment of his conscience. I would all men in great power would remember how filthy a character *Jeroboam* branded his own conscience, fame and name with, that made *Israel* to sin: and how greatly they provoke God's great wrath against themselves, that abuse their power to other mens ruine, which

God

God gave them for edification, and not for destruction.

P. 243. Concl. 5. An offered Oath is not to be taken with a reluctant or doubting conscience. 1. Because what is not of faith is sin. 2. Because we must swear in judgment, which he doth not that sweareth against his conscientes judgment. 3. Because this is done for some temporal commodity, or to avoid some loss, or obtain some gain, or to get some mans favour, or such like: But how unworthy of a Christian is it, to set God behind the World, Heaven behind Earth, the Soul behind the Body, eternal joy behind temporal gain, the hope of the life to come behind present ease, inward peace behind outward! 4. Because he that so sweareth evidently exposeth himself to the danger of Perjury (a most heinous sin.) For he that for hope or fear of any temporal commodity or discommodity can be induced to swear that which he ought not, it is scarce credible but he may by the like hope or fear be drawn from doing what he swore. And PERJURY was by the very heathens accounted one of those most heinous sins, which they believed would bring the wrath of the Gods not only on the guilty, but on their posterity, yea on whole nations, much more is it to be feared of us, who worship that one true God, who hath solemnly professed that he will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain. Lest, while which way ever we look we see such a great and luxuriant crop of Oaths and Perjury, even already white to the Harvest, God the most righteous judge should quickly put in the sickle, utterly to cut down so perfidious and profane a nation. We have long felt that our most merciful

Father

Father is angry, and that the infinite patience of God is turned into fury, being infinitely wronged, and (if I may so say) overcome. It is not easy to say, for which sins this chiefly is, when all sins are very great. But verily he that will seriously think, since God hath begun to scourge us by a neerer rod, how we have not grieved for these grievous sins of swearing and perjury, yea how greatly on one side is increased, the unbridled and unpunished licence of swearing and blaspheming, and on the other side the foul hypocrisie of forswearing on pretence of religion; it can scarce be, but that of *Jeremy* will come into his mind; *Because of Oaths the land mourneth.* These things being so neer, Fathers and Brethren, we that are here and all others that wish well to the publick peace of the Kingdom and Church and the private peace of their own hearts and consciences, must be intreated that they first carefully beware of the name of God, and the crime of violated fidelity, and wholly avoid unnecessary Oaths, and constantly refuse those that are unduely imposed (or offered) by others; and fulfill those faithfully that are duly and rightly taken by our selves; and then that as much as we are able, we strenuously restrain the liberty of sinning in others; and that we pray to our most Good and Great God continually that being taught by his scourge, and admonished, and humbled under his mighty hand, we fly to his mercy, acknowledge his justice, implore his grace, for the pardon of our sins, the amendment of our lives, and the safety of our souls, by and for the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ: To whom with the Father, and the Spirit, the Three one Omnipotent God be Kingdom, Power, and Glory for ever. *Amen.*

It's like Dr. *Sanderson* had some special eye to the Scots Covenant; but doubtless he made not any new or singular Doctrine for that end, which will not hold true in all cases by him described.

Mr. *Rich. Hollingworth* in a late Plea for the Church of *England*, vehemently urging the execution of the Laws against Nonconformists, saith, Page 71. [1. *Thereby* (by Perjury) *the conscience of the Minister is debauched, and he thereby made very unfit to give those instructions, and wholsom counsel to the people that otherwise he might do: For all wilful sins, especially such a Notorious one as Perjury, hardens a mans mind, and divests him, till repented of, of all the necessary and useful influences and assistances of Gods good spirit, and maketh him careless as of his own, so of the souls of others: And a man so easily ensnared by such a sin, is easily induced by any temptation to a neglect of those duties which his Office calls for, and a remiss performance of those Ordinances which were designed and commanded on purpose to reform and instruct the people.*

And page 73. [*They must be accountable at the last day, not only for their own sin, but for that very sin of Perjury, which the vicious Priest is guilty of: For he that inviteth a man to a sin, is reckoned as if he had committed the sin himself.*]

What then would become of me, if I undertook to iustifie the Perjury of multitudes?--- yea, if also I did by Press and Preaching, earnestly press Magistrates to execute the Laws upon many hundreds of Christs Ministers, because they dare not venture on that which they fear (on such reasons as are here rendred) to be a participation of many

thousand Perjuries, nor on the heinous sacriledge of deserting their sacred function, and encouraging neer two thousand silenced Ministers to do the like by my example, besides many other scared sins. If I were the man that for this did plead and beg that they might be laid in Gaols with rogues, and pay fourty pound a sermon and be banished five miles from all Corporations &c. and all this as necessary to the Church and as for God, fathering it all on him who is the God of Truth and Love; and pretending that there is no need of their Ministry, because that I and such as I do better perform all that office against ignorance, ungodlineſs and popery without them, &c. How could I expect regard when I preached against the sins of others? Or with what face could I do it? When my sin shall be opened to me, must I not with *Origen* after his fall, instead of preaching, shut the book, and weep, remembring *Psal.* 50. 16, 17. and the dreadful third Commandment, and tremble when I thought of death and judgment? For a *Judas* in Christs family sinneth at a dearer rate than strangers, and will quickly find his gain too hot to hold, and those that hired him to be woful Comforters, who will turn him off with a [*see thou to that.*]

Obj. Fewer words might serve.

Ans. *Nondum satis dicitur, dum non satis discitur. Nec paucis dicendum est, quod paucis non discendum est.*

[While I long wondered that I could not see what satisfied both all the Learned Convocation, and the Parliament, for the *truth of the Rule in the Liturgy to find out Easter-day for ever*, which is contrary to our Almanacks, and we must all be silenced (and ruined for Preaching) unless we profess that we *Assent to it*, I met with no Conformist that gave me any other satisfaction, than to refer me to Dr. *Pells* Book: And meeting him happily, I craved his information, and the grave, learned, honest Doctor was so far from making me a Conformist, that he professed the passage now is indefensible.]

I was lately assaulted with this, as the strongest Argument for Conformity [*Deliberate lying is no sin, but a duty when it doth no* harm but a *necessary good; As by a Physician to save his patient, or to save a mans life much more to save souls by preaching.*

Ans. This case requireth a longer answer than I have here room for: Briefly. 1. God best knoweth: who is wisest and meetest to Govern the world, for the good of all; and he forbids it. 2. This principle believed would make all men *untrusty* to each other, while every man would think he had reason to lie, when his interest required it; and untrustiness overthroweth all humane polities, societies and converse, and so would do a thousand fold more harm to Kings, Subjects and all, than the saving of a mans life would compensate. 3. Its hypocrisie to sin my self that I may preach against sin in others, 4. The Church of God is against this doctrine,& fathers;And the best casuists have copiously confuted it, though some Jesuites are more lax, and use to serve their interest by it.

5. At

5. At least, methinks that where *Jesuites being* is cryed down, men should not judge my fearing a lie, a crime that rendreth me intolerable in the Ministry, and my preaching without it to deserve a Gaol and utter ruine; and the same to neer 2000 others; the silencing of whom will one day prove no *indifferent thing*: And they that think it harmless publickly, Ministerially upon deliberation to profess a falsehood, may shortly think it a duty to swear it: But I believe that God will not hold that person, Church or Kingdom guiltless, which taketh his name in vain; see Dr. *Hammonds* Catechism on the 3. Commandment.

FINIS.

ERRATA'S

Reader,

THE ſmaller literary miſtakes are left to thy own ingenuity, the groſſer errours of the Preſs, thou art deſired thus to correct.

Epiſt. p. 5. l. 24. for *urge*, r. *argue*, p. 10. for *prefixed*, r. *affixed*, p. 12. l. 4. for *our*, r. *one*, l. 24. r. *A Chriſtian*, p. 32. l. 1. for *mollifie*, r. *nullifie*, p. 50. l. 21. r. *one will*, p. 53. l. 20. r. *communion*, p. 63. l. 4. r. *Pontici*, p. 64. l. 31. r. *Theodoſius*; p. 73. l. 26. for *there*, r. *then*, p. 88. l. 20. r. *put not*, p. 97. l. 25. r. *formally*, p. 99. l. 15. for *an acceptable*, r. *uncapable*, p. 102. l. 8. r. *help*, p. 119. l. 1. for *conſidering*, r. *concerned in*, p. 126. l. 13. r. *ſaid they*, p. 128. l. 6. for *ſuſpenſion*, r. *ſuſpicion*, p. 154. l. 5. for *his*, r. *their*, p. 157. l. 13. for *any*, r. *an*, p. 159. l. 16. *dele that*, p. 160. l. 30. r. *that THIS is*, p. 162. l. 26. r. *we muſt*, p. 187. l. 5. r. *fame*, l. 10. *dele more*, p. 203. l. 25. r. *Hale*, p. 205. from *we take*, and 206, and 207. are all miſplaced, p. 224. l. laſt, for *ſwarming*, r. *ſwearing*, p. 229. l. 21. r. 97. p. 248. for FIRE, r. PLAGUE, p. 265. l. 15. r. *would not*, l. 24. for *about*, r. *above*, p. 269. l. 23. for *hoc*, r. *hos*, p. 272. l. 2. for *thet*, r. *the*, l. 3. *dele the*, p. 286. l. 5. for *yet*, r. *yea*, p. 288. l. 28. for *aſſureth*, r. *aſſerteth*, p. 161. l. 18. r. *plenilunium*, p. 248. l. 8. for 1660, r. 1661. p. 289. l. 23. r. *domination*, p. 298. l. 2. r. *Regia*, p. 333. l. *penult.* r. *premiſed*. Many more are left to the Readers ingenuity.

A Catalogue of Books Printed for, or sold by Benj. Alsop, *at the* Angel and Bible *over against the* Stocks-Market.

1. THE *Compleat English Scholar*; in Spelling, Reading and Writing. By *E. Young*, Schoolmaster of *London*.

2. *Jacobs Ladder*: Or *The Devout Souls Ascension to Heaven*; By *Jos. Hall*, late *Bishop* of *Norwich*.

3. *Divine Consolations against the Fear of Death*; By *John Gerrard*, Author of the Meditations.

4. *Divine Love*: Or *The willingness of Jesus Christ to save sinners*; By *V. P.*

5. *The Nonconformists Plea for Peace*: Or *An Account of their Judgment*; By *R. Baxter*.

6. *Melius Inquirendum*: Or an Answer to the Sober Enquiry.

7. *The Ladies Delight*;

Kingdoms conform to Moſcovie when the Prince commandeth it. And if 1000 or 2000 or 3000 Parishes muſt chooſe the apparent hazard of their ſoul's and refuſe ſuch helps as experience certifieth us they greatly need, in obedience to man why muſt not the reſt of the Parishes do ſo alſo? May I give away the needfull helps to my ſalvation, becauſe others have them, as if their ſalvation might ſatisfie me inſtead of my own?

4 We acknowledge it a very great Mercy of God, to have a Chriſtian Prince, and that every Kingdom ſhould be Chriſtian, and that Princes muſt do what they can to accompliſh it; And that they are the Governours or Paſtors as well as of Phyſicians, (as is aforeſaid) and that it is moſt deſireable that the Church and Kingdom ſhould be commenſurate, and none in their Kingdoms reject the Goſpel. and that Paſtor or people who will do any thing contrary to this, or will not further it with all their power are great tranſgreſſours. But yet the old ſaying is true (owned even by the Papiſts, *vid. Pet. De Marca, De Eccl. Conſt.*) that *Eccleſia eſt in imperio*: And none but profeſſed conſenters are Chriſtians: And the Temple is a priſon and not a Church as men are there forcibly driven againſt their wills, ſo far is it from ſaving the ſouls of any.

Yet conſtraining the *ignorant* and *Heretical* to *hear ſound Teachers*, we are far from oppoſing. But when Paul hath ſaid [*Not a Novice*,] If Rulers will ſilence better Teachers, and ſet up *Novices*, that are unskilful in that great and ſacred work, and never felt that work of *faith*, *love*,

love, and heavenliness, on their own souls which they must Preach to others, this will do more hurt, than the peoples choice of better men.

5. Yea if men of such doctrine could once make Princes and people believe, that the people ought to receive only such Pastors as Princes choose for them, it may do more harm than all our sects do: For sects cannot cast out religion at once; Nay usually they perish themselves by their own divisions and shame before they can ruine the Church. But Princes might change Religion as oft as the Moon changeth. And if good Princes were but the tenth part as rare, as they thought that said [*In uno annulo*] &c. what then would become of Religion in the World?

LIV. And though we profess our great detestation of Church-Schisms, and our lamentation for the sad case of these Nations, and the Christian world, by reason of them, believeing that Schism should be odious to all Christians; yet we are past doubt that aggravating some differences and breaches passionately by odious names, hath been Schismatical, by makeing the distance seem much greater than it was, and rendering Dissenters odious to others, and teaching Adversaries and ignorant persons, to reproach men as guilty of more Schism than they are guilty of indeed. Among the Papists, if they unite in the Pope, they pass not for Schismaticks or Hereticks, who differ in all those many and great points, which *H. Fowlis*, *Montaltus*, the Jesuits Morals, Mr *Clarkson*, &c. recite, *viz.* about Murder, Adultery, Fornication, King killing, seldom Loving God, &c. And among

among us, a man that doth but ſcruple certain Oaths, Subſcriptions, Covenants, Declarations, or a Ceremony, is charged by ſome with Schiſm.

LV. *The Diſtance of Doctrines or Objective Religion* muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the paſſion and peeviſhneſs, of *ſubjective diſtance* of mens *minds*, *e.g.* Suppoſe *Grammarians* differ about a Criticiſm (whether *Vergilius* or *Virgilius*) be the truer ſpelling; and Philoſophers differ *de vacuo*, *de definitione ſpatii, temporis, &c. de cauſa motus projectorum, &c.* and Divines differ of the tranſlation of a Text, of the antiquity of the Hebrew points, of the time of *Eaſter* day, of a Ceremony, or Form of Prayer, of the lawfulneſs of a Lay-Chancellors uſe of the Church-Keys; Would not an impartial ſtranger ſay, How concordant and happy are theſe men, that differ in no greater matters? And if they all fall together by the ears about ſuch things as theſe, it is an aggravated *Subjective Schiſm*, and a ſhame to ſuch wranglers, who deſerve the remedy of ſcolds: But ſure they that peaceably and calmly differ about the aforeſaid things, *viz.*, whether we are bound to Love God once a year? whether the Pope may excommunicate and depoſe Kings, that will not extirpate all Proteſtants. Whether an excommunicate King may be murdered as no King, &c? theſe are far more diſtant really in point of Religion, than the other.

LVI. And we muſt lament that we find in Church-Hiſtory, and by too much experience, that there hath been, and is in too many Paſtors, ſuch a ſelfiſhneſs and high eſteem of their own judgments, and ſo little ſenſe of the common weakneſs of mankind, and the lowneſs of our higheſt

higheſt degrees of knowledge, and ſo little Love to others as to themſelves, that by envy and impatience, they raiſe or increaſe Schiſms in the Church, by making a cauſleſs outcry againſt Schiſm, or making little differences ſeem great: They that cannot bear with Perſons and Congregations, who in little matters differ from them, becauſe they preſer ſome other Teacher before them, and ſay ſomewhat againſt their opinions or ways, do condemn themſelves while they cry down Schiſmaticks, and ſeem not to know what manner of ſpirit they are of: *The Wiſdom from above is firſt pure, and then peaceable, and gentle, and eaſie to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and hypocriſie*; and the fruit of righteouſneſs is ſowen in peace by peace-makers: But if there be envying and ſtrife, it is infernal wiſdom, earthly, ſenſual and deviliſh, introducing confuſion, and every evil work, whether it be found in Factions, Contentions, Antichurches and Hereticks, or in thoſe that can bear with no Diſſenters, nor receive them that are weak in the faith, but make things unneceſſary, and their own conceits and wills the meaſure of mens liberties and their cenſures. He that would purſue all as Rebels in a Kingdom, who interpret not every Law alike, would more divide the Kingdom, than all mens different expoſitions now do.

LVII. We do with ſorrow confeſs that the diſcords of the people about chuſing their Biſhops, hath been a great ſcandal to Infidels, and a great diſhonour to the Church, and hath cauſed many lamentable Schiſms, not only under Chriſtian Emperours, but Heathen. But it hath been

been greateſt about the greateſt Prelates, eſpecially the Biſhops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Conſtantinople*, *Antioch*, &c. ſince *Damaſus* got that ſeat by Conqueſt in the Church, a multitude of Schiſms have fallen out even when Princes challenged the choice. A long time two at once, ſometimes three, and once five or ſix Popes living that were and had been Popes. The Schiſm of the Donatiſts was ſo cauſed by Biſhop ſet up againſt Biſhop; ſo was that of the *Joannites* at *Conſtantinople*, and of *Dioſcorus* at *Alexandria*, and many more. But it muſt be noted, 1. That the Electing Biſhops Prieſts and Magiſtrates, have occaſioned theſe Schiſms as much, if not far more than the *Electing people* have done 2. That yet Princes for many hundred years after *Conſtantines* time, did not think it meet to prevent ſuch Schiſms by depriving the People or Presbyters of their Electing power (much leſs of *Conſent.*) 3. That the Cure muſt not be by altering Chriſt's inſtitution, and the Churches practice continued 600, if not 800 years, and with moſt or many to this day; nor by overthrowing the very Conſtitution of Churches and the Law of Nature it ſelf; nor by introducing a greater evil; as it would be to teach all people to receive all and only ſuch Paſtors as Princes every where ſhall ſet over them, and all Miniſters of Chriſt to ceaſe their Office when men forbid it them.

LVIII. Obj. 4. *But if Miniſters themſelves muſt be judges, whether a Magiſtrate do juſtly ſilence them, then none will take themſelves to be ſilenced juſtly; and ſo all Heretiks will Preach on. It is the Rulers that muſt judge.*

Anſ.

Anſ. 1. when we hear, and read, how the Papiſts deceive the ignorant, by repeating the queſtion, *who muſt be the judge*, it grieveth us to find ſome Proteſtants ſo unskilful in anſwering it, when the anſwer is ſo eaſy, that when opened we hope few ſober Proteſtants differ in it. Judgement is *Publik* or *Private*: Publik Judgement is either Antecedent by a *Lawgiver* judging what ſhall be *commanded* and made the *ſubjects duty*; *or conſequent* by a *Judge ſo ſtrictly* called, Judging of *Titles*, and *Crimes* (in order to puniſhment) according to law; *Private Judgement* is either by *Arbitrators*, or *private Conſurers*, or by *every mans Conſcience diſcerning* and *judging* what is his duty, and what is ſin.

1. The *Sovereign* of the *World*, is the only Judge, by *Legiſlation* what ſhall be the *duty of all mankind*, by the Law which he maketh to bind high and low, which none may alter or ſuſpend. 2. And he is the only *fountain* of *Power* to his *Creatures*. 3. And he is the only *final*, *abſolute*, *infallible judge*.

2. The Sovereigns of Kingdoms and Common wealths, and maſters in their families, are *judges antecedently* what ſhall be their Subjects duty, by their Laws ſubſervient to Gods: And they and their Officers receiving power from them are the Judges *Conſequently*, by *Deciſion*, who ſhall be puniſhed as *Criminal* and who not, and who ſhall be protected in his propriety or eſtate, by the ſword of Iuſtice.

3. The true Biſhops or Paſtors of the Church, are Guides to the people according to *Chriſts Laws*, in the matters of their Office, and *deciſive Judges*, *who ſhall be taken in*, *or put out of Communion*

munion, in the reſpective Churches.

4. Every *mans Conſcience* is that *Private diſcerning Judge* of his *own Duty* and *ſin.* (Of *Arbitrators* or *Cenſurers* we need not ſpeak.)

This all of us are agreed in : And the queſtion [*who ſhall Judge*] is ſtill urged by ſome, as if they thought that ſome man or men muſt needs in all caſes (of Religion) be taken for ſuch *Abſolute Judges* that what ever they Judge, all ſubjects muſt obey it. And on this pernicious ſuppoſition is built the Popes pretended Infallibility, becauſe they think that religion is fallible (that is, *Gods Law*) if *the judge* (that is an *ignorant man, or men*) be fallible.

But all Proteſtants (at leaſt) are agreed, that all *men* are *Gods ſubjects* ; and that all humane Power of Legiſlation, Judgement and execution is limited ; and that no man may judge againſt God or his Laws : And that men ſhould *know* Gods Laws, and juſtifie them and judge by them, and condemn all that is againſt them ; But no man hath power to condemn or contradict Gods Law it ſelf. No man hath power to judge that there is no God, no Life to come, no Chriſt, or that one word of God is falſe, or to forbid one thing which God commandeth, or command one thing which God forbiddeth, no man hath power to judge that ſouls ſhall be deprived of ſuch needful Teaching and Sacraments, and publick worſhiping of God, as God hath provided, and commanded them to uſe ; Nor to forbid Chriſts faithful Miniſters cauſeleſly to Preach his word, and worſhip him in the Churches, and adminiſter his Sacraments ; Nor cauſeleſly to ſilence, or *puniſh* them for ſo doing : Therefore in this caſe

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our conſciences would not be bound though ſtill we profeſs that Gods Law bindeth us not to rebel, or take up arms againſt their injuries, but patiently to bear them, and pray for our perſecutors.

LIX. Obj. *You ſay that Rulers may not cauſeleſly ſilence or puniſh ſuch: But ſtill they are judges whether there be cauſe.*

Anſ. They are ſo: For it is about their proper work. But they are Judges ſubject to God, to whom they ſhall anſwer it if they diſobey him. And the ſubjects are *private diſcerning Judges*, whether the Laws of men contradict Gods Laws ſo far as concerneth their obeying or not obeying them.

We muſt ſtill repeat, that the *eſſe* is before the *ſcire*; and the *Being* of the caſe and *Truth*, before the *judging* of it: either the *Preacher* deſerveth *Silencing* or not, before you come to judge the caſe: If he *ought* to be ſilent the *Rulers* ought to *judge* ſo, and do well: If *not*, but he be *innocent*, or one that ought not to be forbidden his Office, no man hath power from God to judge contrary and cauſeleſly to forbid him; And his conſcience is not formerly bound by that prohibition; Though he muſt ſtill keep his Loyalty and ſubjection, and his care of the publick peace and welfare.

LX. We conclude again, that ſeeing we meet with none that will ſay that Rulers may *Judge* that *we ſhall not worſhip God*, or that the *Goſpel ſhall not be preached*, or that *men muſt obediently forſake Chriſt*, or go to Hell; Nor with any Chriſtian that will ſay that *without faith and holineſs we may be ſaved*, we dread the conſe-

quence of ſuch arguing, as taketh this up as the laſt defence, that [*thoſe people* that viſibly live in Senſuality, Drunkenneſs, Fornication, Coveteouſneſs, *Pride, Ungodlyneſs* or *Groſs Ignorance*, are indeed in a ſafe condition for ſalvation, and therefore that Preaching which ſhould bring them to repentance is not neceſſary; But that its ſafer to continue Ignorant and ungodly, than to joyn with the Religious for fear of Schiſm: For we cannot deny that they that have no other Medium to defend their Aſſertion, that [*the lifeleſs unskilful Miniſtry of Novices, which maketh very few ſeriouſly Religious, doth more good than the contrary, which hath contrary ſucceſs, if it be by men forbidden*] do too plainly perſwade us from our Chriſtianity it ſelf, that is, from the chiefeſt evidence of its truth and glory: For if there were no better Chriſtians in the world, then ſuch unholy perſons before deſcribed; and if Chriſt had not a holy peculiar people, of heavenly minds and lives, and zealous of good works, we could never prove (or believe) him to be the Chriſt that came to ſave his people from their ſins. He is not the Phyſician whom we can truſt, that doth not cure men. And if they will reſolve the caſe into the queſtion *of fact, whether ſuch different Miniſters have uſually different ſucceſs?* and *ſerious Chriſtianity* be not much more rare under *Reading Novices*, and *unexperienced lifeleſs men*, than under *skilful ſerious godly Paſtors*, we are unable to doubt of it, againſt all experience.

LXI. Obj. 5. *But if every man that is proud and heretical may ſet up as a Preacher when he will, and when any people will chuſe him, Reli-*

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gion will be corrupted, and the Church confounded.

Answ. True; therefore that must not be: 1. There are some previous qualifications so essentially necessary to the Ministry, that without them no man is owned as his Minister by Christ, nor should be by men. 2. The *Ordainers* are to be Judges whether men have these qualifications. 3. The people are discerning Judges which *qualified ordained* man (or to be ordained) is *meet for them*; so far as it is necessary to *their mutual Consent*. 4. If a Heretick or other intollerable person must set up a Preacher; or if any turn Heretick, the Orthodox Churches are (after due admonition) to renounce him as unacceptable of their communion; that he may be shamed and avoided.. 5. If yet he continue obstinate, and do more harm than good, the Magistrate is Ruler, and must restrain him, and deny him leave so to Preach in his Dominions; so he do it not by penalties unsuitable to the offence: (Dis franchising, discountenancing and shame, do usually more against Heresies than cruelties.) But *Necessary Faithful Teachers* may not on these pretences be cast out.

LXII. 18. If the People conscious of their great Necessity of Pastoral over-sight and help, and of Christ's command to use it, do live in a Parish or Countrey where they cannot have it from those that the Magistrate alloweth, either because they *cannot* perform it for them, or because they *will not*; it is no Schism for such to seek and use it, from worthy though prohibited men.

We before spake of the Schisms of *Teachers*, and now of *Hearers*. In this case men may justly

ly thus argue: [*Our Neceſſity requireth Paſtoral overſight, and Chriſt commandeth us to uſe it, when we may have it: But from this publick Miniſter we cannot have it: Therefore we muſt ſeek it where we can.* That moſt men have *need* of Paſtoral overſight, is certain; elſe Chriſt would not have inſtituted it for them: And every man ſhould be conſcious of his own need.

That Chriſt hath commanded us the uſe of it is certain; 1. In all thoſe Texts which command the Paſtors their general and particular duties to the People, to Preach and be inſtant in ſeaſon and out, to reprove, rebuke, exhort, to comfort the feeble minded, to viſit the ſick, to convince the erroneous, to adminiſter the Sacraments, to pray and worſhip God publickly with them, &c. 2. In all thoſe Texts that command the People to hear, ſubmit to, obey, and imitate ſuch Guides, and uſe ſuch Ordinances. In ſeveral caſes the People may poſſibly be deprived of this at home, as from the allowed Miniſter: 1. When publick Paſtors are at ſo great a diſtance from them, as that ſuch Paſtors cannot come to them, nor they and their families go ſo far, without ſuch inconvenience and trouble, as will fruſtrate the end of their endeavours: As in *France* where the Proteſtants muſt go twenty miles, or ten, to a Church; which the weak, children and aged cannot do, nor the reſt of the family without ſuch coſt and pains, and loſs of time as will deprive them of the benefit.

Obj. *But yet the Proteſtants there do not ſet up unlicenſed Churches.*

Anſ. That is not as an act of formal *obedience*, as if they took it to be unlawful becauſe prohi-

bited;

bited; but in *prudence*, becauſe the perſecution, ſhould they do it, would fruſtrate their attempt: In ſuch caſes the old Chriſtians met in ſecret.

2. Where Pariſhes are ſo great that the allowed Paſtors *cannot* Preach to *half* or a *fourth* or *tenth* part of the people; and cannot viſit half the ſick, and Baptize, and adminiſter the Lords Supper as is neceſſary; And have no t *time*, if the ignorant, and doubting, and troubled perſons ſhould come to them for Counſel, reſolution or comfort, to ſpeak duely to one of twenty of them. In a Pariſh of 50000 or 30000, or 20000 or 15 00 or 10000 ſoules, how few is it that one or two Miniſters can perform all the Offices to, publick and private which the Goſpel requireth Paſtors to perform.

3. Where the allowed Paſtors are ſo ſlothful or proud that they will not condeſcend to theſe Offices, of Perſonal help to many thouſands, eſpecially of the poor.

4. Where they are young raw men, or ignorant of ſuch matters, unable to counſel people as their neceſſities require, in order to their ſalvation; and perhaps to do it tolerably in a publick Sermon.

5. Where they are ſo prophane and malignant, that if poor people come to them with caſes of conſcience, or for counſel what they muſt do to be ſaved, they will but deride them as ſcrupulous and preciſe, and make them believe that to be ſolicitous about ſalvation, and afraid of ſinning, and ſeriouſly godly, is but to be Hypocrites, melancholy or mad; And perhaps bend their Preaching the ſame way.

6. When they are Heretical and not to be truſted in point of faith.

7. And when they are ſo Factious and Schiſmatical, as that their Preaching and Conference tendeth to render other good Chriſtians odious, and ſtir up men to hate, perſecute, or ſeparate from them, and ſo to deſtroy true Love and Concord.

In any of theſe caſes when the people or part of them are deprived of that Paſtoral helps which their neceſſity requireth, and God commandeth, they may ſeek it where they can beſt have it.

LXIII. In all theſe caſes it is an unſatisfactory Anſwer to tell them that *Religion is kept up in the land*, and that *other perſons* or *Pariſhes have what they want*, or that Order and Obedience muſt be preferred to their ſupply, or that God can ſave them without a Paſtor, &c. For ſo *God can ſave* the Heathen world without the Goſpel Preached if he pleaſe: And ſo you might perſwade the Poor to famiſh, rather than againſt Law to beg; becauſe if thouſands of them dye of Famine, yet *other people* are ſupplied, and have plenty: Or you might tell men that they muſt uſe no Phyſician, though *they* dye for it, if they have no tolerable one allowed them by the Magiſtrate, becauſe *others* have Phyſicians though *they* dye for want of them.

What if the Pariſh-Prieſt could Baptize but one of many (or not all:) Muſt the reſt be content to be unbaptized? If not, why muſt they be content without all publick Preaching and Worſhipping of God, and the Lords Supper, and perſonal helps of Paſtors which they need? *Paul* thanketh God that he Baptized none of the *Corinthians* ſave ſome few, and ſaith, that *God ſent*

ſent him not to Baptize, but to Preach the Goſpel. And can any man prove then, That if the Pariſh Miniſter cannot or will not Baptize his Children he muſt get another to do it, yea a prohibited Miniſter rather then they ſhould be unbaptized; and yet that if the Pariſh Church cannot receive him, or the Paſtor cannot or will not do the Office of a Paſtor for him, he muſt be without Preaching, Worſhipping God, and Paſtoral overſight?

LXIV. Yet here we muſt declare 1. That in ſuch neceſſity people muſt *cæteris paribus*, firſt ſeek their ſupply in that way that is moſt for peace, and moſt for publick good, and leaſt ſcandalous or dividing, and that is moſt agreable to the Rulers will and honour.

2. That for ſome ſhort ſeaſon in which his ſoul is not apparently hazarded; as alſo in the tolerable loſs, of ſome meaſures of Paſtoral help, a man muſt ſubmit his own perſonal advantage to publick intereſt. and may hope that God will make it up. As alſo when it tendeth to his probable greater advantage afterward, by putting by ſome preſent ſtorm: But not ſtatedly, to be without Chriſts inſtituted ordinances and helps; *e. g.* Pariſh Order is deſireable and is the Rulers will: If therefore ſupply can be had in a neighbour Pariſh for them that want it in their own, and by an allowed Miniſter rather than a diſallowed, it ſhould be choſen, unleſs the diſparity be ſo great as to weigh down the contrary inconveniences. And if for a time any be conſtrained to another way, they ſhould do it but as an extraordinary neceſſity for the preſent time, till they can be ſupplied in the allowed Parochial way; and avoid as much as poſſibly

they can all waies, though lawful, that encourage true Schisms.

3. And we must profess, that if any Preachers or people, shall out of self conceitedness, pretend *necessity* when there is none, their pretence is no justification of their disorder or disobedience. Magistrates may regulate us in the *Circumstances* of those duties, which the Law of *Nature* or the Gospel do Command: But if on such pretence of regulating *Circumstances*, they will violate or contradict either the Law of *Nature*, or the Gospel, and *destroy the duty* it self, or *its end*, we are not bound in such cases to obey them, but must patiently suffer.

LXV. 19. If the Church Laws do exclude those *Christians* that *have* right, from the *Communion of the Church*, and their Children from *Baptism*, and do decree that they shall be *excommunicate*, and then laid *in Gaols*, it seemeth to us no Schism in those persons, to have no such Communion with that Church which is denyed them by the Laws of the Church; Nor yet to join themselves with another Church that will receive them. And as we say of the *Papists*, that they unjustly call those men *Schismatacks*, whom they first cast out themselves by unjust excommunication, so may we of any others; Especially when either for that which is a duty, or for some small mistake which it is not in the persons power to rectifie, no greater than most good Christians are guilty of, the Church Law saith that he shall be *excommunicate ipso facto*, by which he is cast out antecedently to any sentence, or no place left for his pardon or forbearance by the favour of the Ordinary. He that is so cast

out,

out, is not the wilful Separatist: Nor is he bound to continue without Church Communion, and Pastoral oversight.

LXVI. 20. If those that live in a Parish where the Incumbent by utter Insufficiency, Heresie, Usurpation, Malignity or Wickedness, is such as men may not lawfully own, or commit the Pastoral Conduct and care of their souls to, shall desire the Pastoral care of the next Parish-Minister, and communion in that Parish-Church, and may not be admitted, but all other Parish-Ministers are by *Canon commanded to refuse them, and to turn them home to their own Parish-Priests and Churches*, so that they must either commit their souls to such uncapable persons, and own them as Christ's Ministers, or have none at all, we dare not charge those persons with Schism, if they commit the care of their souls to worthy ordained men, though not allowed but prohibited by the Magistrate: For the reasons before given. Yea if they know that *Church-Laws forbid all other Parish-Priests to receive them*, we see not that they are first bound to *offer themselves* to such as profess obedience to those Laws.

Obj. 1. *But some take a meer Reader for uncapable that cannot preach, or one that cannot pray without Book, or a young man that is not able to resolve doubts, or cases of conscience: but our Canon* 57. saith, *that the Sacraments are equally effectual, whether they be administred by a Preacher or no Preacher.*

Ans. 1. By an *uncapable person* we mean such as is *utterly unable* to peform the *Pastoral duties* which Christ hath commanded, and mens souls greatly need (which among others Dr. *Hammond*

Hammond in his Annotat. hath well deſcribed.) If bare Reading were ſufficient Ability, every Boy or Artificer were ſufficient that can read. *Bare Reading* will encourage no man to take any one for his *Phyſician*, or *Lawyer*; and ſoul-conduct is a matter of greater importance, and needeth as much skill and honeſty.

2. It is not the *validity of the Sacrament* that is all that is to be looked at: *Quod factum valet ſæpe fieri non debuit*. Men muſt avoid *ſin* as well as *Nullities* in Sacraments: We take it to be a ſin to own a man as Chriſt's Miniſter who is none, through utter incapacity: Yet we know that Reading is a ſort of Preaching, and that all Presbyters, where one Church had many, did not publickly and conſtantly Preach in the antient Churches: But they were godly men capable of other Miniſterial Offices to the People, to pray, counſel and direct them, which muſt be regarded as well as Sacraments. He that can adminiſter a Sacrament that's valid, may be unfit for men to take for their Paſtors or Guides.

3. There is a double work of Sacraments to which they may be called *Effectual*: one is *God's own collation of our Covenant-right to the promiſed Beneſits, viz. Pardon* and *Salvation*: To this we believe that the Sacrament is *effectual* to meet receivers, when it is ſo delivered as to be no Nullity; and ſo many heretofore thought that Baptiſm delivered by a Lay-man is effectual, that is, not Null, but inveſteth the perſon in his Covenant Relation; and yet that it is unlawful for a Lay-man to adminiſter it, or others to deſire it of him: The other work of the Sacrament is *on the Peoples hearts*, to which the manner

ner of adminiſtring much contributeth, as experience proveth.

Obj. *But Sacraments operate not as Lawyers and Phyſicians do, by the skill of the Miniſter, but by God's grace and bleſſing.*

Anſ. 1. But God's grace uſeth to work according to the aptitude of means morally, as conſtant experience proveth: And the word which is uſed in the Sacramental adminiſtration, muſt be regarded, and ſo muſt other waies of teaching as well as by Sacraments. 2. And we cannot expect God's bleſſing in a way of ſin, when we own one for our Paſtor whom we ought not.

Obj. *But ſome take a man to be uncapable if he be but a ſinner worſe than ordinary, as a drunkard, fornicator, ſwearer, perjured, a ſcorner at diligence in Religion, &c. whereas the Miniſters ſin depriveth not the people of the benefit of God's Ordinances.*

Anſ. 1. He that not knowing the Miniſter to be ſuch a one, or by true neceſſity uſeth ſuch a one, yea or by ignorance thinketh that he ſhould not avoid him, if he be himſelf a true Believer, may have God's Covenant ſealed to him by the Sacrament, which ſuch a one delivereth: Yea, by an Uſurper or meer Lay-man that is in poſſeſſion, and miſtaken for a Miniſter: If a man forge his Orders, or intrude uncalled, or be an obtruded uſurping Biſhop, the people cannot alwaies detect it: Nor do they loſe their right to God's Sacraments, becauſe the man hath (unknown to them) no right to adminiſter them: But if they know ſuch an one, they ſhould not own him as a Miniſter of Chriſt, ſo far as to truſt their

their ſouls with him as their Paſtor, (at leaſt when they may have a better) And he that ſo withdraweth himſelf from the communion of notorious wicked Paſtors whom he hath no power to caſt out, not ſeparating cauſleſly from others or the Church-ſtate, ſeemeth to us to have all the following reaſons to excuſe him from the guilt of Schiſm.

1. God hath commanded his ſervants to beware of falſe or pretended Prophets, and told us how to know them, by the hurtful fruits of thorns and thiſtles: And *Paul* adviſeth the *Galatians*, *Coloſſians*, *&c.* earneſtly to beware of unſound Teachers; and the Churches that had thoſe that taught people to eat things offered to Idols, &c. are threatned: And God commendeth thoſe that tryed falſe Apoſtles, and found them Lyars: Therefore the people in ſuch caſes as thoſe have a trying judgment, in order to their practice. And *Paul* warneth the *Romans* to mark thoſe that cauſe diviſions and *offences* (or ſcandals) and avoid them as not ſerving Jeſus Chriſt but their bellies; and the forenamed crimes are *ſcandals*.

2. God hath commanded men to know, love, and imitate godly Paſtors, *Heb.* 13. 7, 17. 24. 1 *Theſ.* 5 12. 13. 1 *Tim* 5. 17, &c. And he hath given no man power to ſet ſuch criminals over them as their Paſtors, and ſo far to deprive them of the means of ſalvation as to confine them to them.

3. Though the Apoſtles charge [*with ſuch no not to eat*] enable not private men to exerciſe Governing diſcipline on bad Paſtors, it ſeemeth to us to bear them, when the caſe is notorious, to diſown them.

4. *Cyprians*

4. *Cyprians* concluſion before mentioned is known, inviting the *people* to forſake a bad Paſtor, *Plebs maximam habet poteſtatem* &c. And he convinceth the people that if they forſake not ſuch they are guilty.

5. The Chriſtian Churches have formerly practiſed it.

6. The Law or Canon forbiddeth it to no man in *England*, to defert men, ſobeit they will but remove their dwelling into another Pariſh. Which is an extrinſick Circumſtance of humane order.

7. Even Pope *Nicolas* in his Decretals, ſaith, that [*Prieſts that commit fornication, cannot have the honour* of *Prieſthood*. Yea [*Let no man hear Maſs of a Prieſt whom he certainly knoweth to have a Concubine or woman introduced*] and we hope we may be herein as clean as *Papiſts*. Yea of Popes he ſaith [*He that by money, or the favour of men*, or *Popular*, or *Military tumults, is intruded into* the *Apoſtolical ſeat, without the Concordant and Canonical Election of the Cardinals, and the following religious Clergie, let him not be taken for a Pope or Apoſtolical*, but *Apoſtatical*] *Caran. 2. p.* 393. 395.

8. *Gildas* ſaith of the Britiſh wicked Prieſts, that they were *Traytors* and not *Miniſters* of *Chriſt*, and that he was not *Eximius Chriſtianus*, that would call them *Miniſters*.

9. *Iſidore Peluſiota* in many Epiſtles to *Zoſimus*, and other wicked Prieſts, hath much to the like purpoſe.

10. St. *Martin*, would not come to the ſynods of the Biſhops about him, nor Communicate with them at all, becauſe they were ſome of them

them, rash, bad men, and had instigated *Maximus* to subdue the *Priscillian Gnosticks* by the Sword, and thereby brought Religious people that were strict, into suspicion of *Priscillianism*; but especially he holding that Heresie was not to be so punished: And when to save some mens lives, he yielded to *Maximus* once to Communicate with the Bishops, an Angel in his way corrected him, and his working of Miracles was diminished by it, and he forbore their Communion after to the death. Either this history is true or not: If not, when it is written by his own Disciple and acquaintance, *Sulpitius Severus* and one of the most Godly and Learned of all the ancient Historians, and by others; and when *Martin* is Canonized for one of the greatest Saints upon supposition that the History of his Life and Miracles is true, what Church history (even that for Bishops) can we then believe? But if it be true, then one of the holiest workers of Miracles since the Apostles, hath assured us, that his separation from communion with these Bishops (though cruel to Hereticks, so gross) was confirmed by vision [illegible] by an Angel from Heaven, and he forbidden their communion for the time to come. We again mention this, as not yet having heard any answer to it.

11. Our own Canons forbid the people to communicate with Ministers for lesser faults (as private Preaching, Sacraments, Fasts, Conventicles, or out of their own Parishes, &c.

12. *Mas.* the Monk aforementioned, is commended [illegible]

becauſe he had perſecuted others by the countenance of *Valens* the Emperour: Though his perſecution extended not to the ſilencing of thouſands, or hundreds, or very many that we read of: And as is aforeſaid, he choſe to be ordained by baniſhed men.

13. Eſpecially if men have no obligation to that inſufficient, heretical, or ungodly Prieſt, but *humane*, becauſe a *Patron* preſented him, or a *Magiſtrate impoſed* him, or becauſe *Pariſh-order* (which is a humane thing of meer convenience) will elſe ſeem violated: When as the avoiding of the *danger* of a *falſe Paſtor*, and the guilt of his ſin, which by owning him may be incurred, and eſcaping the great loſs of a *faithful Paſtor*'s guidance, when we are conſcious that we greatly need it, are things of greater importance, and of Moral and Evangelical Divine obligation: In this caſe we cannot prove it Schiſm to avoid a wicked Prieſt: The Biſhops hold it a duty to avoid a Nonconformiſt that hath not their Licenſe: But ſuch a one as is foredeſcribed, hath not *Chriſt's Licenſe*, and is a Nonconformiſt to his Laws.

Again, let it be noted 1. That even under the Jewiſh Law, Magiſtrates were not the chuſers of the Prieſts, but God choſe them by veſting the Prieſthood on one line. 2. That Chriſt hath by his Spirit in the Apoſtles altered the Prieſthood, and the way of their calling and entrance under the Goſpel. 3. That the Church neer a thouſand years was in poſſeſſion of that way, and many hundred of theſe years the poſſeſſion was